

*French Studies in South Asian Culture
and Society II*

'Regent of the Sea'

Cannanore's Response to Portuguese
Expansion, 1507-1528

GENEVIÈVE BOUCHON

Translated from the French
by

LOUISE SHACKLEY

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G. B.

Note on Transcription

The variety of the transcriptions of the Indian words make the selection difficult. The transcription of Sanskrit presents no problem, and no satisfactory solution has been found for the vernacular languages. As often as possible I have researched and transliterated the original graphy. In all other cases I have selected the most common one, as proposed by the historians—although the latter often contradict each other.

The interpretation of the Māppīḷa names gives way to various hypotheses which I have not discussed since, as far as I know, no onomastic study have ever been made on the subject. I have reproduced these names as they appear in the ancient Portuguese texts, although one could be tempted to put together such names as Mame Marcar and Aḥmad Marakkar, Içimale Marcar and Isma'īl Marakkar, Pocaracem and Fukar Ḥusayn etc. To make things easier, I have used E. Thurston's transcription of caste names (Thurston 1909).

Place-names generally appear in their most common form, according to the English, French or Portuguese fashion, or as in the local Gazetteers. I have sometimes preferred the vernacular form, as in the case of Kollam, for which the English form 'Quilon' seems too remote from the original phonems. In the particular case of the Maldive islands, place-names heard and transcribed by the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century neither correspond to those quoted by François Pyrard at the beginning of the seventeenth century, nor appear on modern maps. The atolls of Male, Tilladumati (pg = Tijmo or Timor), Huvadu (pg = Çoaydu) and Addu (pg = Adu) are the only ones to have been identified. Since there is no study dealing with the subject, any parallel seems to be hazardous and therefore, I have quoted the names of the islands in inverted commas, whilst referring to two maps, the ancient one taken from the cartographer Bartolomeu Velho's compilation,¹ and the modern one hereafter (3 and 4).

The explanations referring to words and sentences in italics are to be found either in the footnotes or in the index.

¹ A. Cortesão 1960.

The following table compiles the various transcriptions of the place-names. The forms used in this book are shown in *italics*.

| <i>Añjarakaṇṭi</i> | | <i>Anjarakandi</i> |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Bārṅūr</i> | Baccanor | |
| <i>Basrūr</i> | Barcelor | |
| <i>Bhaṭkaḷ</i> | Batecala, Baticala | |
| <i>Cōmbal</i> | Chombaa, Chombal, | <i>Chombal</i> |
| | Combaa | |
| <i>Dabhol</i> | Dabul | |
| <i>Dharmapaṭam</i> | Tramapatão, Tarmapatam | Darmadam |
| <i>Honāvar</i> | Onor, Honor | |
| <i>Kaṇṇanūr</i> | <i>Cananor</i> | Cannanore |
| <i>Kāsarakōṭu</i> | Canjarcote | <i>Kasaragod</i> |
| <i>Kavvāyi</i> | | <i>Kavai</i> |
| <i>Kāyal</i> | Cael | Cail, Cael |
| <i>Kāyaṅkulam</i> | Cayecoulão, Calecoulão | Kayan Kullam |
| <i>Kocci</i> | Cochim | <i>Cochin</i> |
| <i>Kōḷikkōṭu</i> | Calecut | <i>Calicut</i> |
| <i>Kollam</i> | Coulam, Coulão | Quilon |
| <i>Kumāri</i> | Comori, Comorim | <i>Comorin</i> |
| <i>Kumbḷa</i> | Cumbola, Combula | Kumblah |
| <i>Māṭāyi</i> | Maravia, Morabia | Madayi |
| <i>Mayyaḷi, Maihi</i> | Mailariavi | <i>Mahé</i> |
| <i>Pantalāyini</i> | Pandarane | Pandarani |
| <i>Ponnāni</i> | Panane | |
| <i>Putupaṭṭaṇam</i> | Pudipatão, Pudupatanam | Pudupattanam |
| <i>Talaśśēri</i> | | <i>Tellicherry</i> |
| <i>Valapaṭṭṇam</i> | Balepatanam, Baliapatam | <i>Valarpaṭṭaṇam</i> |
| <i>Vijayanagar</i> | Bisnaga, Narsinga | |

Introduction

When calling to mind a Muslim power in medieval India, it is that of the Delhi sovereigns which immediately comes to the fore, not only because of the greatness of the empires it created but also because of the wealth of writings it inspired. During the medieval period the history of India was recorded by the chroniclers of the Sultans of Delhi and of the Deccan States who were involved in the Turco-Afghan, the Bahmani and the first Moghul conquests. The light which their writings threw upon the North also shone dimly upon the kingdoms of the South, but left most of Dravidian India in the dark. This imbalance can be detected in much of the documentation dealing with the history of India, even though research undertaken over the last hundred years or so has provided a new insight into the background of the southern people.

It has to be said that the kingdoms of the South—and in particular Kerala—can only respond to the great Muslim chronicles of the North with apochryphal texts which have been altered by legends.¹ Now, while the political and military might of the sultans of Delhi was endeavouring to extend its hold right across India, a quite different kind of Islamic power was being born in Kerala, that of the communities which controlled the economy.

Little is known about this Muslim power before the Age of the Discoveries. Although the Arabian and European travellers were aware of it, it is only referred to fleetingly in the domestic literature and epigraphic documents. The early sixteenth century testimonies left by the Portuguese who were 'discovering' Kerala at that time reveal that not only was there a Muslim presence but also a force, the full significance of which was understood as it had to be confronted daily.

These testimonies are in the form of four classical chronicles: those of João de Barros, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, Damião de Góis and Gaspar Correia, all of which were written during the sixteenth century; two accounts drawn up by Duarte Barbosa and Tome Pires around 1515, and tens of thousands of documents of all kinds kept in the archives of the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon.

Three basic concepts are common to all the texts:

- The Portuguese were not simply travellers passing from one country to the next. Many stayed in the Orient for

several years at a stretch, some for a whole lifetime.

- Portuguese documents are distinguished by their rigorous attention to detail: financial accounts, inventories, christening registers—all contain figures and dates which have been entered with the greatest care.
- The Portuguese testimonies have been written with a certain freedom of expression, at least in the first half of the sixteenth century, before the Inquisition imposed its constraints. The letters sent to King D. Manuel from India were straightforward, which was unusual at the time. In the correspondence addressed to the sovereign, the Portuguese subjects did not hesitate to report scandals, criticize the initiatives taken by their captains and make their own suggestions.

It is regrettable that in all the Indian documentation there is very little which can be used as a response to the Portuguese accounts. The chronicle written in Arabic by Zaynuddin at the end of the sixteenth century gives no clear indication as to the nature of the Hindu reaction, his purpose being rather to act as an interpreter for his Muslim fellows. Fortunately, the Portuguese archives hold a good deal of letters written by the kings of Malabar, as yet unpublished, which reveal their political attitude in a different light. At the same time the Portuguese documentation is marked by a malevolent prejudice towards Islam and a medieval mistrust of Hinduism which they saw as a cult of 'the Devil'. With the exception of Duarte Barbosa, they made only random references to the socio-religious structures. But these brief references are a constant call to further research on the history of the institutions and societies of India.

To reply to this call is to undertake an immense task. No scientific analysis of Kerala during this period has ever been carried out. Whereas the histories of Vijayanagar and the Coromandel States have inspired so much memorable literature, the only information on Kerala is in the form of elementary syntheses. The epigraphic material is dispersed in numerous collections, the most recent instalments of which are not easily accessible in Europe.

Most of the traditions were placed on record during the last century by a missionary by the name of Father Gundert—the first person ever to take an interest in the Malayali manuscripts—and by two functionaries of the Indian Civil Service, William Logan

and Robert Sewell, who throughout their working lives never tired in their quest to retrace the past of the people of Malabar. Unfortunately these pioneers were not trained in the type of scientific research which is undertaken today. They translated and analysed documents without being able to edit the original texts, and often neglected to give their references, probably because they were overwhelmed by the task to be completed. Furthermore, their limited knowledge of Portuguese meant that they were unable to make use of the vital documents relating to the sixteenth century. It seems that they were only familiar with Gaspar Correia whose chronicle contains many inaccuracies.

Too many historians who have studied Kerala have been content to focus on the works of William Logan and Gaspar Correia's text, using the occasional extracts from Zaynuddin's account. These somewhat unsubstantial books are a marked contrast to the outstanding works of some of the Malayali scholars, for example A. Shreedhara Menon, K. K. N. Kurup and M. G. S. Narayanan who record the history of their country using the most up-to-date epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological discoveries. Their writings were a starting point for my research.

I am also indebted to the Renaissance historians and particularly to those who tackled the major problems of maritime expansion in the Indian Ocean. I have used as a constant source of reference the works of Portuguese scholars who have interpreted and published a great number of documents hitherto unconnected to the history of the eastern people. Other researchers, among them David Lopes, Donald Fergusson, F. Hummerich, M. V. Magalhães Godinho and particularly Georges Schurhammer, S. J., were concerned to place the objects of their research in an Indian setting, but were confronted with the difficulties referred to above. Under the guidance of Mr Jean Aubin, the *Mare Luso-indicum* team set out to retrace the history of the Portuguese discoveries in the Indian Ocean from its beginnings by carrying out a comparative study of the Lusitanian and Oriental sources. Within the framework of this project, I have centred my own particular research on two different areas of interest. On the one hand I feel duty bound to complete and comment on the Portuguese chronicles by bringing into play the archive documents from the *Torre do Tombo* which I have systematically catalogued for the first three decades of the sixteenth century. On the other hand I have gathered together epigraphic, archaeological and literary sources relating to Cannanore in order

to present the changing fortunes of the *conquista* from a local viewpoint and to provide an interpretation of the reactions of the native people which were witnessed by the Portuguese.

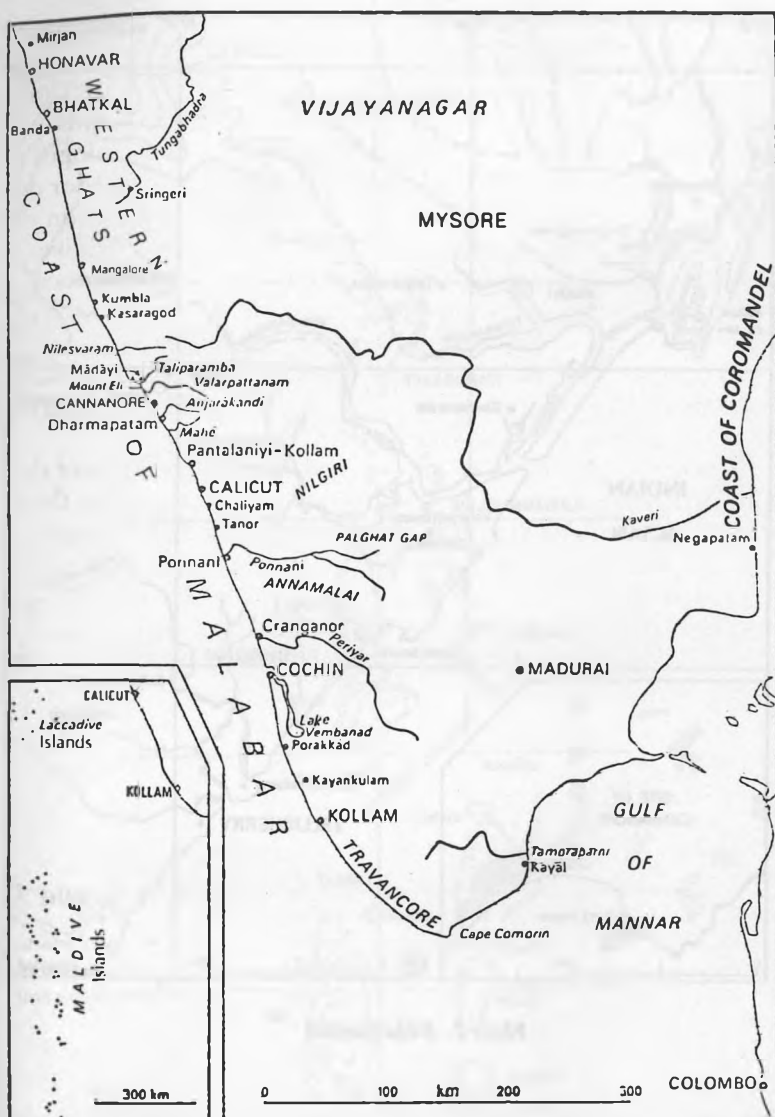
This particular examination is dedicated to the leader of the Eli kingdom's Islamic community, the one known by the Portuguese as 'Mamale de Cananor'. Why this choice? Because from out of the mass of archive documents there emerges and stands out one figure, like a statue appearing beneath the archaeologist's spade. The Portuguese attached to his name the title 'Regedor do mar' (Regent of the Sea) which was probably the translation of 'Anderraão' (Malayali = Aḷi Rāja), and 'Lord of the Maldives'. The Portuguese texts present him as the head of the Māppiḷa community in Cannanore, who was the uncle and the predecessor of the Muslim princes Arakkal Aḷi Rāja. His political career seemed, in my opinion, to be so important for the history of Kerala and the beginning of the Portuguese expansion in India that I have tried to set him in an historical and social context.

To achieve this it has been necessary to look at the origins of the Kerala Islamic communities and to study the reasons for their growth.² I have also had to rediscover the history of the Eli kingdom and the Maldivé archipelago using only rudimentary sources. My initiatives have unearthed many problems which remain unresolved. Although this second edition takes account of works published during the past ten years, many doors remain open for future research.

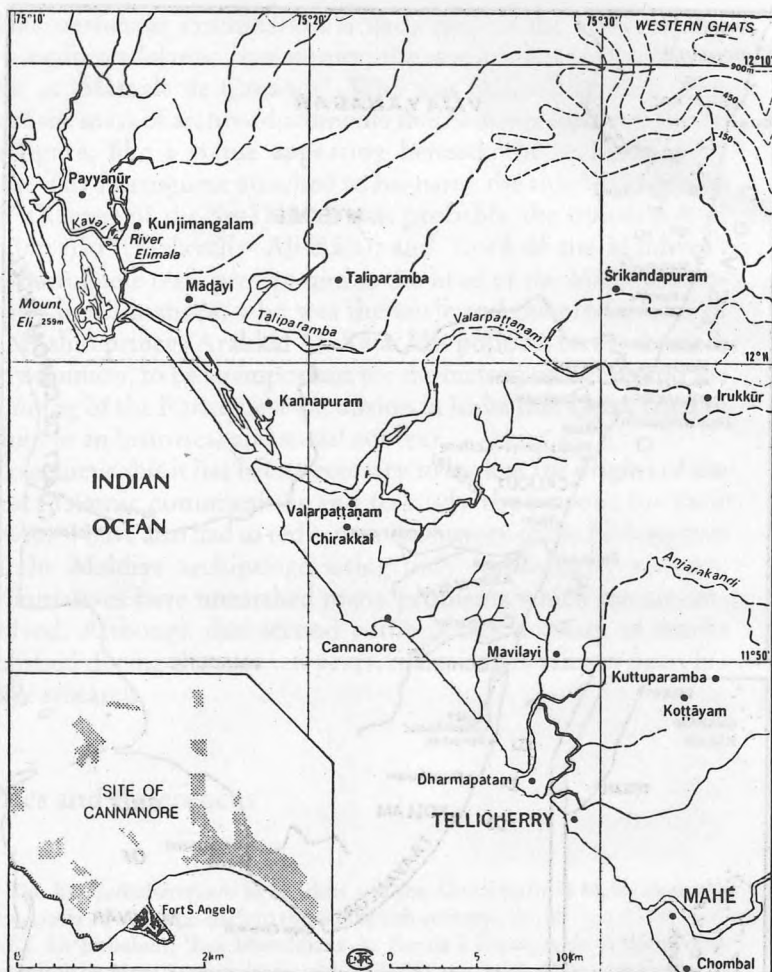
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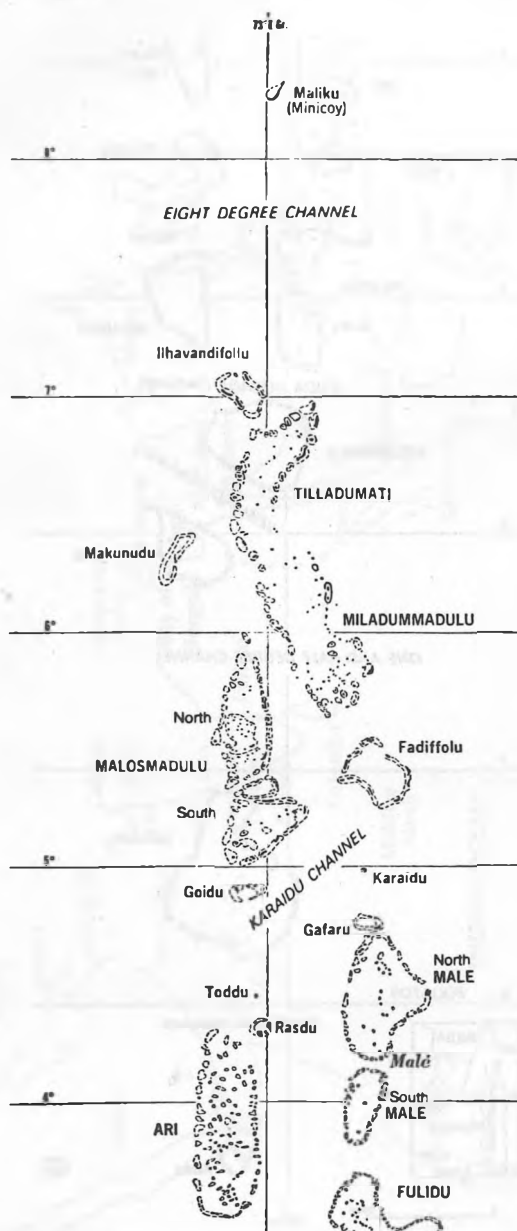
¹ The *Keralamahātmyam* in Sanskrit and the *Kēraḷōlpatti* in Malayalam, the oldest copies of which go back to the eighteenth century.

² Cf. G. Bouchon: 'Les Musulmans du Kerala à l'époque de la découverte portugaise', in *Mare Luso-indicum*, vol. 2 (1973), pp. 3-59. After completion of this book, a most valuable research has been made on the field of the Maldivé and Laccadive islands by A. D. W. Forbes (Cf. Bibliography, pp. 00).

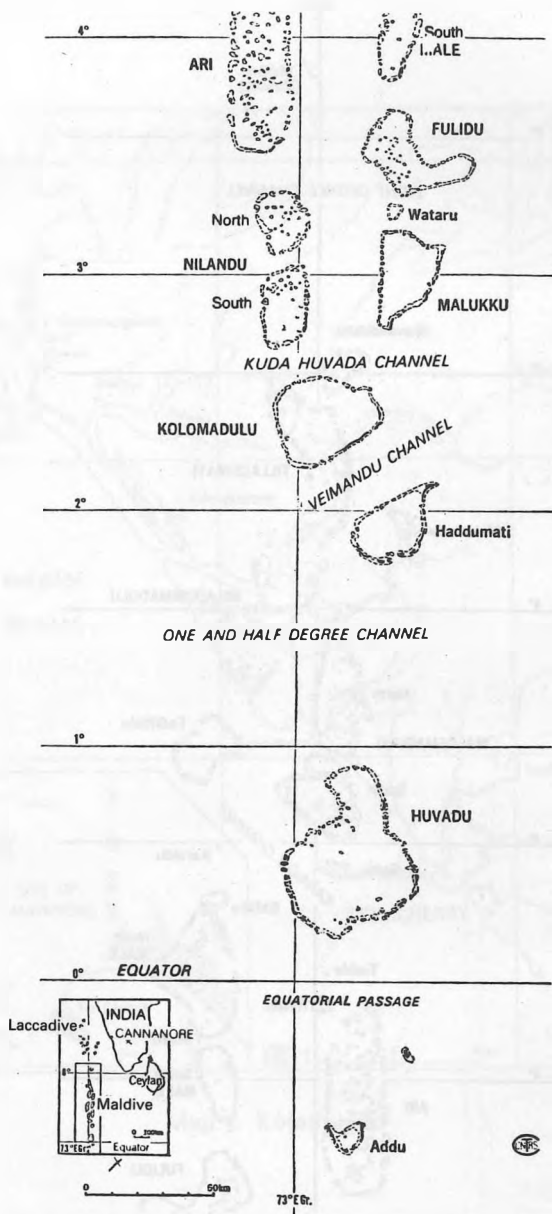


Map 1. Kerala at the beginning of the sixteenth century

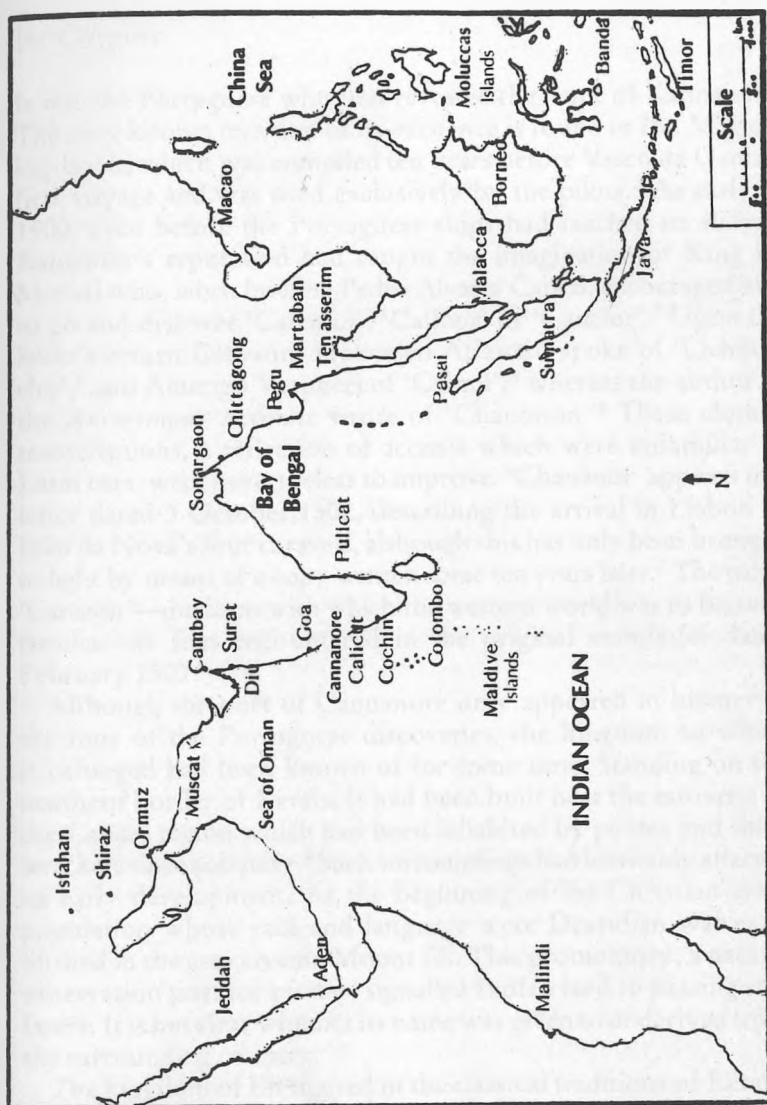




Map 3. Maldives archipelago (North)



Map 4. Maldives archipelago (South)



Map 5. Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century

I. The Kingdom of Eli

Its Origins

It was the Portuguese who first revealed the name of Kaṇṇanūr.¹ The only known mention of its existence is found in Ibn Māḡid's log-book, which was compiled ten years before Vasco da Gama's first voyage and was used exclusively by the pilots.² As early as 1500, even before the Portuguese ships had reached its shores, Kaṇṇanūr's reputation had caught the imagination of King D. Manuel who, when briefing Pedro Alvares Cabrai, encouraged him to go and discover 'Calemur', 'Callnur' or 'Canelur'.³ Upon the latter's return Giovanni Francesco Affaitato spoke of 'Lichinocho',⁴ and Amerigo Vespucci of 'Calnut',⁵ whereas the author of the *Anonymous Account* wrote of 'Chanonon'.⁶ These clumsy transcriptions, a reflection of accents which were unfamiliar to Latin ears, were nevertheless to improve. 'Chananor' appears in a letter dated 3 October 1502, describing the arrival in Lisbon of João da Nova's four caravels, although this has only been brought to light by means of a copy written some ten years later.⁷ The name 'Cananor'—the form with which the western world was to become familiar—is first encountered in the original *mandados* dated February 1503.⁸

Although the port of Cannanore only appeared in history at the time of the Portuguese discoveries, the kingdom to which it belonged had been known of for some time. Standing on the northern border of Kerala, it had been built near the estuaries of the Canara region which had been inhabited by pirates and shipwreckers since antiquity.⁹ Such surroundings had inevitably affected its early development. At the beginning of the Christian era a population whose race and language were Dravidian was established in the area around Mount Eli. This promontory, a natural observation post for pirates, signalled Indian land to passing seafarers. It is not clear whether its name was given to or derived from the surrounding country.

The kingdom of Eli figured in the classical traditions of Kerala; as early as the Saṅgam era the exploits of the hero Nannan, king of Elimala,¹⁰ were being extolled by the poet Paraṇar. The discovery

of Roman coins in the region of Kōṭṭayam is evidence of its commercial dealings with the Mediterranean world.¹¹ Subsequent centuries have only revealed sparse traces of its existence, taken at random from epigraphic transcriptions. For example, the list of princes defeated by Kirtivarman I Cālukya, recorded in the inscription of Bādāmi (Ś. 523-4/601-2), mentions a King Mūṣaka.¹² This name, the origin of which has caused wide speculation,¹³ was recognized in the eleventh century as that of the Eli kings. The *Mūṣakavaṃsa*, written by the poet Atula in praise of their dynasty, provides the key to their names, their lands and their titles.¹⁴ The Irāmakuḍam title makes it possible to identify the Eli princes in the text of three inscriptions¹⁵ and thus to give a historical reality to their line.

Atula was particularly anxious to reveal the exploits of his ruler, King Śrikantha, and his brother Vallabha, and called to mind that some of the islands of the neighbouring archipelago had just been annexed to the crown. He described the splendour and the court customs and outlined the structures and topography of the kingdom. It is here that the principal towns appear for the first time: the market of Acalapaṭṭaṇa, the royal city of Māṭāyi, at the mouth of the Kilḷā (Taliparamba); Kollam and the fortified town of Valarpaṭṭaṇam on the River Prathanā.¹⁶

Thus it is the testimony of the poets alone which has provided the key aspects of the Eli kingdom and which has given an insight into the various stages of its development. The works of Paraṇar link it to the Saṅgam civilization, those of Atula supply proof of an advanced sanskritization. By disclosing the names of the princes, temples and cities, the *Mūṣakavaṃsa* gives meaning to the epigraphic documents and archaeological discoveries.

Three inscriptions are not enough, however, to retrace the history of the Eli kingdom during the medieval period. Despite the defeats referred to by two of them, it seems that the land was never annexed in a lasting way by any of its powerful neighbours. It is doubtful that it was incorporated in the Cēra Empire because the text of the Bādāmi inscription distinguishes between the king of Kerala and King Mūṣaka; but it is not known what became of it after the military reprisals reported in this same inscription. It does not figure among the lands subjected to Bhāskara Ravivarma Cēra two centuries later.¹⁷ Perhaps it was enjoying the independence glorified

by the *Mūṣakavaṃsa* in the eleventh century, that is at the very time when this independence was beginning to be threatened once again, since the Mūṣaka princes were not to be spared during the successful campaign of Rājādhirāja Cōḷa. All trace of the Mūṣakas is lost after 1046, the date the Maṇimangalam inscription which records their defeat.¹⁸ Were they wiped out and replaced by another dynasty? A cautious approach should be adopted before making conjectures which could in the future be questioned by epigraphic discoveries.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century Marco Polo emphasized the independence of the Eli kingdom, specifying that its kings paid tribute to nobody. At that time the country seemed to be enjoying full prosperity, enriched by the cultivation of pepper and ginger which the Chinese wasted no time in loading on to their junks during the fine season. These resources were augmented by acts of pillage, organized under cover of the estuaries against the foreign vessels which sheltered there; only cargoes destined for the kingdom were spared. Such practices seem to have been common in the northern areas of Malabar during the medieval period, as was coastal privateering. Another ploy was to form barriers with twenty to thirty ships which would give chase to any vessel encountered, the crews of the plundered ships being allowed to go free.¹⁹ The Calicut kingdom owed the superiority which it shortly afterwards enjoyed over the other Kerala states among other things to the security of its ports and the honesty of its merchants for which there is unanimous praise.²⁰

Marco Polo did not mention the presence of Muslims, something which did not escape the attention of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who gave a lengthy description of the privileged position of those who had established themselves in the north of Malabar.²¹ It is regrettable that, because they refer to areas which are difficult to identify, not all the signs he gives to pinpoint their centres of activity can be used. Although the toponym 'Hilī' is identifiable, it also raises a problem: Marco Polo emphasized that the Eli kingdom had no port, only river mouths and fairly unsafe beaches, yet fifty years later Ibn Baṭṭūṭa attributed the name of Eli neither to a mountain nor to a state but specifically to a port in full prosperity, situated on a *hūr* (Arabic = gulf, bay, large estuary) and accessible to large vessels. The city was inhabited by Muslims; the main mosque was 'bursting

with light', and was showered with gifts from the passing sea-farers; the leader of the Islamic community, who supervised the weighing of goods, shared the custody of his treasure with the preacher. Within the mosque was a college of science which was attended by students under its care; the whole complex housed kitchens, a much needed facility for foreigners and the poor. Like Kollam and Calicut, the port received customers from China.²² Wang Ta-Yuan, a contemporary of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, provides further details about the area: the ground was poor but provided the best pepper in Malabar; the houses were separated by small gardens; the inhabitants, who were aggressive people, carried arms.²³

'Hilī' was situated three parasangs from 'Djorfattan', which was the home of the king,²⁴ a point which could lead to a comparison being made between Djorfattan and Valarpaṭṭaṇam which shared with Māṭāyi the honour of having a royal residence. The identification of 'Dehfattan' is more easily resolved: in all probability the place in question is Dharmapaṭam, made famous by its mosque and the conversion to Islam of a Kōvil ancestor.²⁵ Similarly it is tempting to recognize in 'Bodfattan' Pudupaṭṭaṇam—the 'Poudoupatana' of Cosmas²⁶—also situated in a large bay but whose population, in the main Hindu, was hostile towards Muslims.²⁷ Nevertheless, the questions raised by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's toponymy cannot conceal an essential fact: from his account it appears that in the mid fourteenth century Kōḷaṭhuṇād was politically united and its shores deeply Islamized.

One century later, and for the last time, reference to the port of 'Helly' is made in a brief paragraph by Nicolo de' Conti.²⁸ When the Portuguese were to reach Kōḷaṭhuṇād in 1500 it was the name of Cannanore which was to strike their ears and it was in Cannanore that they were to make contact with the king's envoys—Cannanore, which seemed so big and powerful to them that they gave its name to the entire kingdom.²⁹

What event, what scourge, had cast the city of Eli into oblivion and so quickly given rise to the promotion of Cannanore? What explanation can there be for the disappearance of a port as big as Eli from the map of India within the space of some fifty years and for the fact that the increasing prosperity of Cannanore was not noticed by a single traveller at that time?

The difficult nature of this problem has aroused too much interest to prevent me from exceeding the limits of my initial plan. It could

not have been known that such a digression was not an obvious one and the study of the Eli site would uncover the origins of the Muslim community.

The Ports of Eli

Were it possible to identify all the available sources on the subject, the study of Eli would stretch to more than one volume. In view of this, no attempt will be made to resolve all the problems in this connection; the facts will simply be presented as a precursor to the scientific investigation that the Eli site seems to warrant.

The area in question has never been the subject of a co-ordinated analysis and has merely been touched on by archaeologists and learned people who have been content to reveal inscriptions, ruins and poems, without ever trying to examine their discoveries more closely. Furthermore, the superficial research undertaken has often had to be abandoned because of a particularly difficult terrain which today is infested with rats and crocodiles.³⁰ The swamps are crossed by ferry. To add to these difficulties the written sources are incomplete and an examination of most of the epigraphic documents, sometimes even the resumé of a literary work, has often had to suffice. Because no toponymical study has been carried out in the region, the uncertainty surrounding the identification of the place names has meant that it has not been possible to use all the inscriptions examined.

As it is presented however, and because of the information contained in the Portuguese texts, the Eli question seems to have provided the justification needed for an introductory study.

Mount Eli is two hundred and fifty-nine metres high and juts out into the Oman Sea. Wild cinnamon grows on its cliffs which are covered by it in the spring. The monsoon winds and sea currents combine to draw ships towards its coves. In the Portuguese period—and probably well before—vessels from the Persian Gulf used the Eli waters as a port of call and ships from Kollam and Calicut gathered there to collect fresh water and wood before setting sail for the west.

Four rivers bathe the foot of the mountain. To the north, the Kavaï and the Elimala, a southern branch of which skirts the promontory; to the south the Taliparamba and the Valarapaṭṭanam.

The impression is in fact one of many rivers since they all merge together behind an off-shore bar which is constantly changing. The result is a network of salt water channels and swamps which are now deserted as they are unhealthy. It was much further south, in Cannanore and Tellicherry and away from the lagoons, that the commercial and political centres of the country were to be found; but it is the area around the promontory which holds all the traditions.

According to Yule and Burnell, Elimala simply means, high mountain.³¹ Whereas the meaning of *mala* (= mountain) cannot be contested, the etymology of Eli has given rise to several hypotheses due to the confusion of two Malayali words: *ēlu* (= seven), the word adopted by the Tamil classical texts which described Mount Eli as 'ēḷ il kuṇram' (= hill of the seven houses)³² and translated into Sanskrit in the *Keralamahātmyam* which referred to the Eli country as 'sapta śaila' (= the seven hills); *eli* (= rat) which resulted in the most common interpretation and was adopted by the *Mūṣakavaṃsa*³³ (*mūṣaka* or *mūṣika* = rat in Sanskrit). The latter was in common use in the sixteenth century³⁴ and found its origin in the fact that the promontory was infested with rats which, according to tradition, were the ancestors of the Mūṣaka sovereigns.³⁵ It is probable that over time an osmosis of the different meanings of this toponym was formed which has been interpreted in the light of local legends.

It was during the tenth century that Mount Eli emerged from an obscure past. The Ramantali stone, dated Kāli 4029/927, bears the oldest inscription taken from its slopes. It reveals the name of a port, Ilangopattanam, which was prosperous enough to have attracted members of the Maṇigrāmam.³⁶ A century later the author of the *Mūṣakavaṃsa* confirmed the existence of a commercial centre to which he gave the name Acalapaṭṭaṇa.³⁷ The volume of archaeological remains collected from the banks of the Elimala river suggests that the city must have extended inland from the coast, between Kunimangalam and Payyanūr;³⁸ the poem of the same name, the *Payyanūr Patti*, which extols the 'Kachilpaṭṭaṇam' merchants lends weight to this theory. One particular fifteenth century manuscript³⁹ was possibly the same one consulted by Gundert who declared it to be the oldest Malayalam manuscript he had ever seen.⁴⁰ This document must have itself been recopied from an earlier text because it refers to a time when the Muslims were not

yet in charge of the economy, an area which was at that time controlled by the Anjuvaṇṇam, the Maṇigrāmam and two Cheṭṭi guilds. The Muslims only appear among the members of the crew—if this is how the term 'Chonaka' is to be interpreted.⁴¹ All these signs, which are scattered throughout the poem, point to a closer connection between the latter and the Ramantali inscription and to the fact that in the eleventh century there existed an important commercial centre frequented by the sea merchants.

This centre, which does not exist today, was soon to suffer in the face of competition from Māṭāyi, the recent foundation of which was praised in the *Mūṣakavaṃsa*.⁴² The town still lies at the mouth of the Taliparamba on its northern banks. A branch of this river separates it from the suburb of Paḷayaṅgādi which itself opens onto a channel which the Portuguese called the 'rio Marabia'⁴³ and the western waters of which merge with those of the Elimala river.

Referred to as 'mui antiga' by Duarte Barbosa, Māṭāyi contains important archaeological remains which have been listed by R. Sewell who discovered traces of numerous temples in the immediate vicinity of the city. At Paḷayaṅgādi stands the fortified palace of the Kōlathiris and the sanctuary of the Goddess Bhagavati—Durga protector of the dynasty.⁴⁴ This confirms the words of the *Mūṣakavaṃsa*, according to which Māṭāyi was the royal city. During the Portuguese period the sovereigns had abandoned it for Valarpaṭṭaṇam, but it was still considered to be a high seat of religion. According to Gaspar Correia the rāja of Tanor made retreats at 'Moravia no Monte Deli'.⁴⁵

In Māṭāyi the Portuguese encountered a very ancient merchant population, made up of Jews and Muslims. The exodus of the Jews to India, traditionally attributed to the persecutions of Titus and Vespasian, was probably followed during the medieval period by the influx of those who came there to seek fortune.⁴⁶ Duarte Barbosa and Francisco de Albuquerque both emphasized the secular origin of the people of Māṭāyi.⁴⁷ It has already been seen that the presence of Jewish merchants within the Anjuvaṇṇam was ratified as early as the ninth century, by the privileges granted to them by Bhāskara Ravivarma.⁴⁸ It is probable that at the same time some of them settled around Mount Eli, the Anjuvaṇṇam being included, according to the Payyanūr Patti, among the 'Kachilpaṭṭaṇam' guilds.⁴⁹ In Paḷayaṅgādi, in the shadow of the royal residence, there still stands a very old tank which is called the 'tank of the Jews'

and, although a date cannot be put on it, its antiquity is emphasized by Sewell.⁵⁰ It is regrettable that in this case, as in many others, there is no chronological reference.

Not only did the Portuguese find members of a synagogue in Māṭāyi, they also discovered a considerable Islamic community which had close connections with the town's history. There is no doubt that the Muslim presence was very much in evidence a few years after the founding of the city. The Māṭāyi mosque bears an inscription dating its foundation at H. 518/1124 and contains large blocks of Arabian marble which, it is said, were brought in by Malik Ibn Dīnār.⁵¹ Zaynuddīn confirmed this tradition by including the mosque of Hīlī-Marāwī among those founded by this holy personage.⁵² These venerable origins seem somewhat legendary, but confirm that the Muslims had been established in the region long enough to have enjoyed full city rights as well as the right of worship since the beginning of the twelfth century.

The problem of the Eli port is raised again here. Were W. Logan and Padmanabha Menon correct in recognizing the mosque of Māṭāyi as the one described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa?⁵³

Before examining this hypothesis there are two others which should be given consideration. As the toponyms in India changed frequently, it could be thought that Eli and Cannanore were one and the same and that the first name had been abandoned in favour of the second in the second half of the fifteenth century. The Bay of Cannanore could well be the *hūr* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and there is evidence to show that in 1500 an organized and powerful Islamic community lived in the town. However, the antiquity of the site is not confirmed by any document or tradition, and the absence of any archaeological remains raises serious reservations.⁵⁴

On the other hand the lower courses of the Kavaī and the Elimala rivers have sufficient quantity of ruins to suggest that there was once a prosperous city on this site. The traditions relating to 'Kachil-paṭṭanam' provide evidence of the activity of sea-merchants; the mosque of Kunjimangalam which Sewell deems to be 'of considerable antiquity' confirms the presence of Muslim residents.⁵⁵ But although the site described by Marco Polo is recognizable, the tortuous estuary which lent itself so well to pillaging and the soft sands on which the junks had to land,⁵⁶ it is difficult to identify the 'Hīlī' of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, wide open to the sea, with a settlement positioned on the sinuous tangle of the various branches of the

Kavai and Elimala rivers. Furthermore, the Portuguese never referred to a decadent town to the north of Mount Eli, whereas they were aware of the reputation of the former grandeur of Mātāyi.

This testimony, still alive at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was reinforced by that of the ancient toponym. In his list of the port of the kingdom, Tomé Pires placed 'Hyeri' between Nileśvaram and Valarpaṭṭaṇam,⁵⁷ in other words where other authors generally placed 'Marabia'. At the end of the century Zaynuddīn was again associating the name of Eli with that of Mātāyi and gave the Kōḷaṭhiri the title of the Prince of Hili-Marāwī.⁵⁸ This evidence dispels the conjectures favouring Cannanore and 'Kachilpaṭṭaṇam', particularly since Mātāyi was in possession of religious and civil monuments and a long established trading population. Furthermore, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa provides an indication of the geographical location of the town, specifying that 'Hili' was three parasangs from 'Djorfattan', the home of the king; this corresponds almost exactly to the distance between Mātāyi and Valarpaṭṭaṇam.⁵⁹

So many common features would normally be sufficient to recognize in Mātāyi the 'Hili' of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa if one essential element—the wide *hūr* in which vessels from the high seas dropped anchor—were not missing. Mātāyi is situated on a large river, the Taliparamba, whose direct access to the sea is blocked by a strip of sand which diverts the flow of the river into the Valarpaṭṭaṇam estuary in the south and to the north links up with the swamps of the Elimala, blocking the whole of the harbour area. According to the Portuguese texts, however, this was not always the case. In the sixteenth century the port of Mātāyi was accessible via the 'rio Marabia', that is along the channel which still linked the Taliparamba to the sea.

There is nothing to be gained by listing the countless references made by the Portuguese to the maritime activity of Mātāyi since they do not describe the harbour site. However, an incident reported by João de Barros and Castanheda demonstrates that the waters were of insufficient depth. In their pursuit of a group of Muslims who had taken refuge in the 'rio de Maravia', Simao de Meneses' men had to take to small boats leaving their ships at the entrance to the bar;⁶⁰ two other vessels had in fact run aground when they had tried to go further.⁶¹

The presence of the bar referred to by the chroniclers, and the

fact that the channel depth was only practicable for light craft, suggest that the port became silted, which led to the decline of Māṭāyī and its being abandoned in favour of Cannanore in the second half of the fifteenth century.

I am most grateful to two geographers, Professors Max Derruau and A. Guilcher, who have given support to this hypothesis with some scientific data. They confirm that unfortunately there are no accurate and modern geomorphic studies of the Mount Eli region, although the currents which pass along the Malabar coast are well known. One of them crosses the Indian Ocean from East Africa and forms two separate currents north of Mount Eli, one of which flows towards the equator, diverting the course of the rivers and directing them south/south-eastwards parallel to the coastline.⁶² The effects of this deep current are countered by the surges of the sea which come up from the south-west with the monsoon and have an overriding effect,⁶³ causing a shore drift strong enough to form a strip of sand, clearly visible on modern maps. The latter is under constant pressure from the river mouth currents. Storms and tropical cyclones frequently cause breaks in the bank, freeing for a time access of the rivers to the sea; the bar is then gradually formed again and the gap closes.

Along the Malabar coast this movement is disturbed by the presence of the north-south current which starts up again at the end of each monsoon. In certain places, and particularly in Cannanore, it is strong enough to prevent the bar being formed; but around Mount Eli the projection of the promontory keeps the north-south current away from the immediate coastline making the area more vulnerable to the effects of the monsoon current.

This phenomenon suggests that sometime between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries a break in the spit had freed the vast estuary of the Taliparamba which at that time had the characteristics of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *hūr*. It should be borne in mind that by the beginning of the sixteenth century the bar was already re-formed and once again only allowed access to small vessels.

This supposition is not enough to allow a definitive conclusion to be drawn. The time taken for the spit to be formed should be calculated as should the frequency of its breaks. Archaeological digs should be undertaken and local poems analysed for the purpose of assembling the elements needed for a scientific study of the Eli

site. From the information currently available it can be ascertained:

—that the area around Mount Eli is a natural assembly point for ships arriving in India and coming together before departure;

—that during the medieval period the commercial centres which had existed since at least the tenth century (Ramantali inscription) shifted from the north to the south. The first which can be located (there were probably others before this) is the one the texts refer to as Acalapaṭṭaṇam or Kachilpaṭṭaṇam. According to the *Payyanūr Patti* and the *Mūṣakavaṃsa* it was situated on the lower basin of the Kavaī and was in existence before the eleventh century.

According to the *Mūṣakavaṃsa*, Māṭāyi's history goes back to the eleventh century. It was probably at this time that, since the mouth of the Kavaī was becoming increasingly silted, the activities of Kachilpaṭṭaṇam, by moving along the southern branch of the Elimala river, found an outlet to the sea in the Taliparamba estuary. At this time the Muslim guilds (Māṭāyi mosque) were competing with the Cheṭṭi, Christian and Jewish guilds. However, these changes did not take place overnight, and, as exemplified by Marco Polo in his account, the rise of Māṭāyi does not imply the total abandon of the 'Kachilpaṭṭaṇam' site. In fact Māṭāyi, which everything points to as being the 'Hilī' of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, was probably extended by suburbs which were still inhabited and which lined the banks of the Elimala river as far as the remains of 'Kachilpaṭṭaṇam'. It was this grouping—Payyanūr, Kunjiman-galam, Māṭāyi and Paḷayaṅgādi—that should have been known as Eli in the medieval period since it was overlooked by the mountain of this name: Matteo da Bergamo, who in 1502–3 had accompanied Vasco da Gama's squadron, named the whole coastline to the north of Cannanore 'il ditto loco deli'.⁶⁴

The advance of the spit preceded by a bar at the mouth of the Taliparamba was to lead, in the second half of the fifteenth century, to the whole area becoming silted and the town being abandoned. It seems that the phenomenon was understood because it was the Bay of Cannanore, independent of all waterways, that was then chosen. This development coincided with the period in which Vijayanagar's requirements in horses were becoming considerable. The easy access of Cannanore meant that large vessels did not have to

negotiate a bar and could come right up onto the beach where elephants hauled them ashore.⁶⁵

The topography of the royal residences follows the same movement. The oldest of the residences, the Eli Kōvilagam, overlooks the Payyanūr site.⁶⁶ The fortified palace of Māṭāyi is situated in Paḷayaṅgādi on the banks of the northern basin.⁶⁷ The palace at Valarpaṭṭaṇam, the favourite residence of the Kōḷaṭhiris during the Portuguese period, was linked by road to the port of Cannanore.

Despite all the unanswered questions, it appears that the importance of the role played by the Kōḷaṭhuṇād ports from an early date has generally been underestimated. The concentration of the palaces and temples around Mount Eli,⁶⁸ the presence of the merchants' guilds and the oldest mosque of Malabar, and the place held by the legends of this country in the traditions of Kerala, can only be compared with the mythical and archaeological wealth of Vēṇād. Two commercial centres of great importance, Kollam and Eli, had close links with the traditions of the southern and northern Kōḷaṭhiris, considered to be the most venerable kings of Kerala.⁶⁹

Kōḷaṭhuṇād at the Beginning of The Sixteenth Century

There is a marked contrast between the paucity of Indian sources and the abundance of Portuguese texts, and yet they all differ too much for an easy synthesis to be possible. As already mentioned, the first papers emanating from Cannanore are dated 1503,⁷⁰ that is one year after João da Nova left a small group of people there.⁷¹ The first available description, however, comes as a result of Ludovico di Varthema's visit to the town in 1506.⁷² It is surprising that Duarte Barbosa, who lived in Cannanore for most of his life, did not leave a more detailed account of Kōḷaṭhuṇād than the one given in the chapter he devotes to Malabar.⁷³ Because of the gaps in his work specifically, the later accounts of the chroniclers have had to be consulted and, more, the archives systematically analysed. It is the references contained in the letters written by the scribes and captains, and the precise details contributed by countless *mandados*, *recibos* and *conhecimentos* which help to explain the main aspects of the 'Reino de Cananor' and the sequence of events which took place there.

Where lies the common ground for this precise yet fragmented information and that provided by Indian sources? Neither the disappointing investigation of epigraphic documents nor the sparse interest that Kōḷaṭhunād has aroused in archaeologists and numismatists will be recalled again. Although they only appear in recent works, the traditions will provide the essential elements here. Assembled principally by William Logan,⁷⁴ and A. Shreedhara Menon⁷⁵ and K. Padmanabha Menon,⁷⁶ they reveal administrative and religious structures not described by the Portuguese and probably not generally acknowledged. However, the references the latter made to certain customs and the role played by certain people make it possible to ascertain that the former were in force at a specific time and to place the latter in the social hierarchy.

The Country—The Ruling Classes

The Reino de Cananor was sandwiched between the territories of Vijayanagar and Calicut. On its northern frontier stood the Kumbḷa citadel.⁷⁷ Its eastern boundaries, more difficult to define, probably followed the line of the highest forests of the Ghāts, the exits to the passes of which were marked out by the Vijayanagar fortresses. To the south the Tellicherry river separated it from the Calicut kingdom.

The broken relief of the shore line and the narrowness of the coastal strip had the effect of concentrating the activities of the country around the river basins and the river mouth ports. The Kavaī and the Taliparamba bathed Mount Eli with the waters from their estuaries. Upon the banks of these rivers stood the highest places in the kingdom. In the shade of the northern slopes of Mount Eli stood the Eli Kōvilagam, the second residence of the Kōḷaṭhiris. On the northern bank of the Taliparamba, the city of Māṭāyi grouped together within its walls the ancient royal palace, the temple of Bhagavati and the most venerable mosque of Malabar. Up-stream, between the two branches of the Taliparamba, the town of the same name was a place of pilgrimage which from the fifteenth century attracted many people from all over Kerala;⁷⁸ it was also a meeting place for the Vijayanagar merchants and coastal traders.⁷⁹ The Valarpaṭṭaṇam, navigable in all seasons, gave access to the hinterland as far as the foothills of the Ghāts and was connected with the Coorg road. This network of communications had

stimulated the growth of the towns and found favour with the sovereigns.

Near ancient Chirakkal, the cradle of the dynasty, the Kōḷaṭhiris had chosen Valarpaṭṭaṇam as their principal residence.⁸⁰ Two leagues from there Cannanore stretched around a bay which was closed in the south-west by a rocky promontory.⁸¹ This area enjoyed the benefit of the mildest climate along the coast and fresh water springs.⁸² There were no ramparts to protect the city which consisted of nothing more than some cadjan-roofed⁸³ buildings beside a coconut palm beach.⁸⁴ The minaret of the mosque indicated the presence of Muslim residents.⁸⁵ Each year approximately two hundred foreign ships came to the port⁸⁶ which was connected to the Valarpaṭṭaṇam basin which in turn led to the inland Muslim markets, Śrikandapuram and Irukkūr. The traders had no difficulty reaching the steep paths which, through the passes of Periahghāt and Perambadi and after a two weeks journey, brought them to Vijayanagar.⁸⁷ There is no doubt that at the beginning of the sixteenth century these privileged conditions made Cannanore the first port of the kingdom. Tomé Pires, who judged 'soomente ho port de Cananor... gramde, nobre, homrrado...' considered the other coastal cities 'cousa pouca'.⁸⁸

On the borders of Calicut, a large Muslim town, was built on the island formed by the confluence of the Anjarakandi and Telli-cherry rivers: Dharmapatam, protected by its cliffs but accessible on all sides, may still have counted among its mosques the building attributed by legend to Malik Ibn Dinār.⁸⁹ The western forests of Vṃṇāḍ and the town of Kōṭṭayam, the meeting place for the Vijayanagar merchants,⁹⁰ were reached by travelling up the Anjarakandi. It seems that there was no clearly defined border between the 'Reino de Cananor' and the lands under Calicut. According to Duarte Barbosa, Dharmapaṭam was the last town held by the Kōḷaṭhiris, whereas Tome Pires believed Mahe to be under their influence. Upon closer examination of the text written by Barbosa—whose knowledge of this area is indisputable—it is possible to place between the Tellicherry and Kōṭṭa river, a number of small territories which, depending on the prevailing political situation, must have been under the control of one or other of these kingdoms.⁹¹

Kōḷaṭhunāḍ was at that time governed by the Kōḷaṭhiris, the rājas

of Chirakkal,⁹² who claimed to originate from the most venerable traditions of Kerala. The first, reported in the *Keralamahātmyam*, dates back to a time when the holy Brahmin Paraśurāma, having lifted Kerala out of the sea, appointed a Kṣatriya to defend its northern borders.⁹³ The second, recorded by the *Kēraḷōlpatti*, is part of the legendary cycle of 'Chēramān Perumāḷ'. Before being converted to Islam this sovereign had taken in three women, whose ship had run aground at the foot of Mount Eli, and married them all. One of them, of Kṣatriya caste, had given birth to the princes of the royal line. The two other women, of Śudra caste, are considered to be the ancestors of the Kaimals of Nerpatt and Chulali who, having settled in Śrikandapuram, defended the Coorg route for centuries.⁹⁴

As already seen, the Eli kingdom was in fact in existence before the period of the presumed reign of Chēramān Perumāḷ, although nothing is known of the palace revolutions which, as a result of Brahmanization and the medieval wars, brought various dynasties to power. There is no chronology to help trace the origin of the dynasty which reigned at the time of the Portuguese discovery, but an examination of the letters written by those to whom the Portuguese gave the erroneous title of 'reis de Cananor' reveals that the latter always referred to themselves as the kings of Eli⁹⁵ and in so doing confirmed the antiquity of their family and their attachment to the traditional name of their kingdom. The only references to the names of some of these princes are to be found in the works of the poets they protected or in those they wrote themselves.⁹⁶ It is therefore evident that in the second half of the fifteenth century the kings of Kōḷaṭhuṇād were very well read and possessed an extensive Sanskritic culture.

The oldest member of the entire royal family, including all its branches, was the rightful heir to the throne.⁹⁷ The law of succession followed the *marumakkatāyam* system which only took account of matrilineal descent.⁹⁸ The first pretender, who bore the title of Tekkelamkūr lived in the Vatakar fortress from where he administered the southern province.⁹⁹ The second, Vaṭakkellamkūr, was based in the Vekkolāt fortress and guarded the northern frontier.¹⁰⁰ The third, Nalamkūr, managed the royal house, and conferred honorary titles. The fourth, Anchamkūr, performed the duties of aide-de-camp.¹⁰¹ As with the distribution of responsibilities, the law of succession was somewhat difficult to enforce. Although it

gave nephews intangible rights, the *marumakkatāyam* system did not prevent the sovereigns from granting their own children considerable privileges. From time to time the Portuguese echoed the rivalries which divided the royal family by questioning the order of succession.¹⁰²

The princes had several traditional residences which had probably been abandoned by the beginning of the sixteenth century, for example the Palace of Karipatt, in the region of Chirakkal, which was older even than the Eli Kōvilagam.¹⁰³ The ancient palace of Māṭāyi and the citadel of Valarpaṭṭaṇam, where the Kōḷaṭhis seem to have settled during the Portuguese period, were reserved for the reigning sovereign.¹⁰⁴ The sanctuary of Māṭāyi Kava and the Kalarivāttukkal, both dedicated to Bhagavati, were attached to these two royal residences.¹⁰⁵

The immediate entourage of the sovereign was under the control of the *purohita*—‘o bramene del Rey’—the king’s chaplain, who belonged to the Areppan Nampiyātiri caste.¹⁰⁶ The influence that his religious prestige must have had over the Kōḷaṭhis seems to have been so discreet that it went unnoticed by the Portuguese observers.¹⁰⁷ The influence of the soothsayers on the other hand was more apparent, and yet, despite their hold over the decisions of the sovereign, they were only received in the palace gardens, since, being of Kaṇiyan caste, they were too contemptible to enter the royal residence.¹⁰⁸

There is little point in describing the multitude of servants, scribes and women who lived in the royal palace; attention will be given instead to the military character of the king’s entourage and to the presence of the Nāyars of whom the Portuguese narrators have left graphic accounts.¹⁰⁹ They were undoubtedly attracted by the strange customs of this caste of warriors, and more charmed by their exoticism than scandalized by the freedom of their lifestyle. Their number—estimated for each court at several thousand—and the services they rendered during the medieval wars had resulted in the Nāyars being rewarded with considerable social privileges which were justified by their unconditional devotion to the king rather than by their obscure origin. Those from Cannanore were renowned for their military prowess¹¹⁰ and their bellicose character.¹¹¹ At all times they were armed with swords and daggers. They protected themselves with round shields and were skilled in the use of lances, bows and arrows and, when available, arquebuses.¹¹²

In times of war they fought on foot, their heads covered with tan-coloured turbans.¹¹³ The knights were dubbed by the Kōḷaṭhiri himself who received their sworn statement to protect 'the cows and Brāhmins'.¹¹⁴ Educated from an early age in the military academies,¹¹⁵ they accompanied their sovereign on all his public appearances during which they took part in dazzling jousts, juggling with their arms which 'sparkled like drops of water'.¹¹⁶

Some of the dignitaries, usually appointed from the same families, assumed administrative responsibilities. The Prime Minister—to whom the Portuguese were to give the title of 'alguazil'¹¹⁷—was a Kurup of the Nāyar caste.¹¹⁸ The military command was given to a Chittottu Kurukkal, and the Chief Treasurer was chosen from among the Mavila Nampiyār. At a local level a Nātuvāri¹¹⁹—the 'Natorym' of the Portuguese texts—was placed at the head of each province. Directly under the control of the Kōḷaṭhiri and sometimes chosen from among the princes of the royal family, he organized the collection of the principal revenue—taxes and commercial duties, confiscated goods and the proceeds from the sale of slaves—out of which he took his own share.¹²⁰ He was assisted by the Talaiyārī or Chief of Police—possibly the 'Trabalhyam' of Duarte Barbosa.¹²¹

The documents examined have revealed neither the name nor the composition of the assemblies which, like the Munnuttuvar and the Arunuttuvar of Vēṇād¹²² perhaps controlled the activities of the Nātuvāri. Despite this serious gap, and the others which cannot be identified, the outline sketched seems to be in keeping with the Hindu order. It is worth mentioning it as much for the purpose of defining the social functions of the people the Portuguese were to encounter as for the purpose of observing how the government structures operated in the face of the Portuguese ventures and the rise of the Muslim power.

External Relations

The Malabar kingdoms were linked by traditional alliances and mutual commercial interests. It is important to underline here the difference between these two types of association which were handled by two distinct communities, and also observe, beyond the territorial divisions and the court rivalries, the various structures and beliefs and how the commercial activities were co-ordinated.

The Alliances

The very purpose of this study implies a need to understand how the alliances worked, alliances which were inherited from the ancient Cēra empire and brought to life by the legends of 'Chēramān Perumāl'. The Muslim sea-merchants were forced to exploit them in order to establish a parallel network of commercial complicities. The nature of these alliances seems to have escaped most of the Portuguese observers who saw in them only the expression of mutual interests. However, despite their background of tradition, these alliances explain the ambiguous attitude shown by the Kōḷaṭhuṇād sovereigns towards the Portuguese authorities.

The Kolathiris shared with the rājas of Vēṇād and the Zamorins of Calicut the privilege of bearing an uncontested royal title, although, as observed by Duarte Barbosa, there were 'many other great lords who wish to be called king but are not'.¹²³ The financial power of the Zamorin sometimes enabled him to control the political situation, yet it could not rival the dynastic prestige of the Kollam princes, who themselves legitimized the antiquity of the Eli kings. The title of Kōḷaṭhiri was in fact bestowed upon each of the leaders of these two royal houses, according to complex legends—for the most part connected with the legend of 'Chēramān Perumāl'.¹²⁴ It is assumed that these accounts, which cannot be verified, had originated with the dispersal of a powerful family, possibly related to the Cēra emperors. A more recent tradition attributes to Adithya Varma, the king of Vēṇād, the adoption of two Chirakkal princesses, one of whom was the ancestor of the Tampurāṭṭis of Attingal.¹²⁵ Whatever their origin, the reality of the links uniting the two families is borne out by the fact that the princes of the north are frequently adopted by those of the south, and above all by the fact that both families observe the *pulasam-bandham*, i.e. they subject themselves to the same purification rites to rid themselves of contamination after the death of one of their people.¹²⁶

No such tradition seems to have united the Kōḷaṭhiris to the ruling family of Cochin, which was held at a distance by the three great dynasties. It seems that the politics of the Māppiḷḷa sea-merchants, and later those of the Portuguese, superficially created a network of common interest between Cochin and Cannanore. But the periodic wars which set Calicut and Cochin against each other

forced the Kōḷaṭhīri to be cautious, particularly since certain obligations linked him to the Zamorin. These obligations, referred to in very vague terms by Gaspar Correia,¹²⁷ were kept in force by the fear which the armed *paraos* of Calicut and the presence of its spies aroused all along the Malabar coast.

The character of the relations which united these two royal houses is symbolically represented by the tradition relating to the *rānis* of Nīleśvaram.¹²⁸ It is said that the first of these was a princess who was disinherited by the Zamorin, because she had been abducted by a nobleman of the Eli kingdom and made sovereign of Nīleśvaram: a legendary illustration of a latent rivalry which the Kōḷaṭhīri voiced when boasting that, in respect of the Portuguese, he had put right the wrongs of the Zamorin.¹²⁹ But these opposing attitudes were superseded by the imperative alliance of commercial interests, reinforced by the solidarity of the Islamic communities. The latter made sure they had support within the Kōḷaṭhīri's family and it will later be seen how this circle was to benefit from the military aid of the Zamorin each time the position of the Muslim merchants was threatened.¹³⁰

From time to time local quarrels were arbitrated by the king of Vijayanagar. The internal difficulties he encountered at that time¹³¹ had not in any way detracted from his prestige, nor had they erased the memory of the fearful raids which had formerly taken place in the neighbouring regions.¹³² His influence was particularly evident in Cannanore where the Portuguese were to have their first contacts with the envoys of Narasiṃha and were to realize how effective his warnings were.¹³³ Indeed, it will later be seen that the sovereign of Vijayanagar founded his authority on an economic dependence which involved both the Muslims and the Kōḷaṭhīri to whom the nickname of Lord of the Horses¹³⁴ had not been given by mere chance.

Commerce

Kōḷaṭhuṇād's geographical position and the dynamism of its merchant population were the principal reasons for its prosperity. Its natural resources were as mediocre in quantity as they were in quality.¹³⁵ The *eli* ginger, which grew in abundance,¹³⁶ could not compete with the *beledi* ginger of Calicut.¹³⁷ Wild cinnamon covered the slopes of Mount Eli, but it could not claim the fine

quality of that of Ceylon.¹³⁸ The pepper, considered to be the best in Malabar,¹³⁹ produced a poor crop which was limited to the Anjarakandi and Taliparamba valleys.¹⁴⁰ Medicinal plants were also grown in this area: cardamom, anacard, myrobalan, tamarind and other drugs, the Portuguese inventories of which have left an interesting catalogue.¹⁴¹

The Cannanore warehouses could provide up to six thousand *quintais* of ordinary ginger each year,¹⁴² whereas the pepper, formerly so highly valued by the Chinese customers,¹⁴³ was exported from Dharmapaṭam to Calicut.¹⁴⁴ In trying to find among the early Portuguese statements the presence of trade which their intervention had not yet dismantled, it is discovered that local production accounted for only a minute proportion of the Kōḷaṭṭhūṇād traders' activities at the beginning of the sixteenth century. At that time they were involved in the economy of both the coastal towns of Malabar and the ports of the Canara country. They distributed products from Canibay and Malacca as far as the ports of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea.¹⁴⁵ Integrated in the rice distribution network, they stored in Cannanore and Dharmapaṭam cargoes collected in the Vijayanagar ports,¹⁴⁶ as Banda, Basrūr and Bārākūr.¹⁴⁷ They also supplied Calicut¹⁴⁸ directly and shipped ordinary rice to Ormuz and the Maldives where they exchanged it for local produce.¹⁴⁹ The town of Cannanore took advantage of its proximity to Mount Eli by supplying the Indian Ocean seafarers, who would assemble there before setting sail for the high seas¹⁵⁰ with provisions for their voyages and offer them the best nautical equipment of the country, particularly rope imported from the Maldives.¹⁵¹

Like the trading towns of the Canara coast, Cannanore belonged to the group of ports which imported horses. This was its principal source of profit. It is significant that this fact was pointed out by Ludovico di Varthema who was writing before 1510.¹⁵² Several years later Duarte Barbosa and Tomé Pires made no mention of it because Cannanore, which had once been the 'port of horses for Narsinga'¹⁵³ was no longer making money from this flourishing trade. As early as 6 December 1507, the Kōḷaṭṭhiri complained to D. Manuel about the damage the Portuguese privateering was causing to the 'principal trato que neste porto sempre... foy o de Gromuz de cavalos'.¹⁵⁴ This resentment, which was to come to a

head with the shifting of the horse trade to Goa, was to fuel many of the conflicts which will be examined later.

These testimonies and the many references found in the correspondence of the period¹⁵⁵ demonstrate that, before the taking of Goa by the Portuguese, Cannanore guaranteed the supply of the Vijayanagar cavalry. If the hypothesis put forward concerning the port of Eli has any foundation, it is probable that its desertion coincided with the growth of this empire and the needs of its armies. The Cannanore site must therefore have been preferred for the ease of its access, which was unimpeded by an estuary bar, and its sandy bay in which horses could easily be disembarked. These animals were brought in mainly from Ormuz¹⁵⁶ and Arabia and were taken directly to Cannanore. The example of Bhaṭkaḷ suggests that they were traded, at least partially, for rice and spices.¹⁵⁷ Upon their arrival they were taxed at a figure estimated by Ludovico di Varthema at 25 ducats, which was paid into the coffers of the Kōḷaṭhiri.¹⁵⁸ They were then taken by road to the Ghāts and on to the Kōṭṭayam market where the Vijayanagar merchants paid gold *pardaos* for them.¹⁵⁹ The presence of horses, without which nobody could import anything into the empire,¹⁶⁰ allowed for the tax-free buying in of other products from Ormuz: pearls, salt and dates.¹⁶¹

Apart from this activity, and by virtue of the traditional links which united Kōḷaṭhuṇād and Vēṇād, it is probable that the Cannanore merchants had once again become involved in the profitable trade of the Kāyāl merchants which had once afforded the Pāṇḍya sovereigns a cavalry. In 1512 Afonso de Albuquerque announced the presence in Cannanore of the king of Comorin's envoy who had been instructed to buy horses for gold *fanams*.¹⁶² In addition ships specially adapted for the transport of large animals brought elephants to Cannanore from Ceylon.¹⁶³

By providing an insight into the role played by the 'Reino de Cananor' in the economy of Kerala, the record of these deals calls for an investigation of the merchant communities responsible for them. What emerges is the genius of those who were able to transform unproductive ground into a provision store, make use of Mount Eli's location as a harbour for foreign ships, and reserve the right to provide Calicut with rice and Vijayanagar with animals of war. The effectiveness of their services was not without its

influence over their powerful neighbours and allowed the Kōḷaṭhiri to retain a relative independence.

THE MERCHANT COMMUNITIES

This area of activity, which was developed during the medieval period, was not exclusive to the Muslims although they were its principal protagonists. The role they played, which was made all the more impressive by their specialized knowledge of external relations, should not detract from that played by the Māṭāyi Synagogue and the Hindu castes who controlled some of the production sources at the time. The Jewish community of Māṭāyi was possibly responsible for bringing about the fortune of the ancient site of Eli before it was overwhelmed by the Muslims. Under the control of the Kōḷaṭhiri, it was still important enough at the beginning of the sixteenth century to be noticed by Duarte Barbosa and Francisco de Albuquerque.¹⁶⁴ Although the Rāvarī Nāyars' presence around Cannanore was not specifically reported, it is probable that the members of this caste, based principally in the north of Malabar, carried on their traditional occupations. The Tiyaṇs and the Mukkavans who, because they belonged to low castes, were drawn as much to the Muslims as to the Christians, frequently appear in the lists of converts held by the chaplains of the Portuguese fortresses.¹⁶⁵ As was the case everywhere else, it is certain that they made up the largest section of the maritime workforce, and in particular the crews attached to the Muslim fleets.¹⁶⁶

The survival of ancient Jain families in Kōḷaṭhuṇād¹⁶⁷ suggests that they were not uninvolved in the economy. Were they of autochthonous stock, or from Gujarat like the Banias? It seems that prior to the setting up of the Portuguese *feitoria* the Banias formed Malabar's largest foreign group, since it had its own special district in Cannanore.¹⁶⁸ In addition to these well established communities there were seasonal groups of merchants who came from all over the world: Persians, Arabs, Chinese, Bengalis, Chetṭis and even Venetians, like Benvenuto d'Abano whom the Portuguese brought back to Europe.¹⁶⁹

All these groups were minorities compared to the Islamic community, and yet they were responsible for upholding the prosperity enjoyed by the latter at that time. The origins of the Muslim community go back a long way. The locations of the mosques founded

by Malik Ibn Dīnār are enough to ascertain that most of them lived in the area around Mount Eli.¹⁷⁰ This information is taken from the 'Chēramān Perumāl' legend, and yet the Māṭāyi mosque—the only one still standing—is dated 1124.¹⁷¹ The presence of this sanctuary and the remains of its wealth reveal the truth behind the words of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who bore testimony to the following that Islam enjoyed in this country.¹⁷²

The main feature of this community is that, unlike the one in Calicut, it was principally made up of Māppiḷas and was more specialized in Indian commerce. These Māppiḷas held all the ports along the coast and relied on solid positions in the inland markets, particularly Śrīkandapuram and Irukkūr¹⁷³. Māṭāyi which, in spite of its decline, had remained a pleasant and fertile place¹⁷⁴ still had many Muslim inhabitants who supplied the Calicut almadias with provisions and offered them the shelter of their sandy lagoon and protection from the Portuguese ships.¹⁷⁵ Dharmapaṭam stored rice and pepper and could accommodate larger vessels.¹⁷⁶ At first sight the town must have looked modest. Ludovico di Varthema had nothing but disdain for its 'ugly houses'¹⁷⁷ and Tomé Pires did not hold it in very high esteem.¹⁷⁸ But Duarte Barbosa, who must have known it better, emphasized the beauty of its mosques. The wealth of the Māppiḷa shipowners in the town caused him to remark: 'If the Portuguese had not discovered India this city would now have a Muslim king'.¹⁷⁹

A remarkable solidarity seems to have united these two ports to Cannanore. Their three names, which are often found grouped together under Gaspar Correia's pen,¹⁸⁰ mark the three principal seats of the Māppiḷa community whose members never failed to help each other. Between Mount Eli and the mouth of the Anjarakandi the Portuguese ships were constantly being ambushed by the 'Moors' or carrying out retaliatory raids against them. The chroniclers constantly refer to these shores where the principal events of the maritime war occurred, provoked by the presence of Calicut ships which before long received the support of local craft.

While Māṭāyi and Dharmapaṭam were restricting themselves to the revictualling of the neighbouring ports, Cannanore was opening its doors to external trade. However, it is the activities of the Māppiḷa merchants, rather than the details of this trade, which will be the focus of this study. The Portuguese writers, who observed these traders with a sharpness inspired by mistrust, have only left general

descriptions of their day to day lives and the structure of their institutions. It is probable that the Cannanore Muslims' lifestyle did not differ greatly from that of the other Māppiḷas.¹⁸¹ What is certain however is that their community was governed by a dignitary, referred by the Portuguese as *regedor* (regent),¹⁸² a hereditary role which was passed on from brother to brother and from uncle to nephew, in keeping with the *marumakkatāyam*¹⁸³ custom. This regent had the right of justice over his co-religionists¹⁸⁴ and represented them before the king who invited him to attend certain darbars.¹⁸⁵ The Muslim population was grouped along the shore and in the southern suburb of Edakkad.¹⁸⁶ The richer Māppiḷas owned ships to Ormuz, Aden, Ceylon and Cambay. Gaspar Correia has left a description of these 'naos de Cananor' which were built to sail the high seas.¹⁸⁷

There is no doubt that the horse trade was here, as elsewhere, in the hands of the Muslims, an activity which earned them the Kōḷaṭhiri's favours.¹⁸⁸ It protected them from the outbursts of the rāja of Vijayanagar who was irritated by their increasing political power and who only spared Cannanore 'because it was the stable for some of his horses'.¹⁸⁹ Neither the influence of those who carried out this trade nor their skill at earning most of the sovereign's favour should be underestimated. The Kōḷaṭhiri had a Muslim scribe who wrote his diplomatic and commercial correspondence in Arabic and was thus a party to his secrets.¹⁹⁰ The Cannanore Māppiḷas, as they appear in the Portuguese documents, had acquired so much authority that Tomé Pires wrote of them: 'If the power of Your Highness did not extend to this kingdom it would already be in the hands of the Moors, because a certain Mamalle Mercar has become all powerful here'.¹⁹¹

The emergence of Mamale, in whom the ambition of the Muslim community was crystallizing at that time, and the unfolding of his activities, will enable a significant moment in the history of Cannanore to be appreciated. For more than ten years, while seeming to defend the king from Portuguese domination, Mamale ceaselessly competed with and sometimes diminished the Kōḷaṭhiri's power, thus preparing the way for the Aḷi Rājas who were to reject the royal authority.

By acting in this way, he contributed to the acceleration of the movement, started several centuries earlier, which aimed at linking the Islamic community to the oldest traditions of Kerala. Because

of their ignorance of these traditions, the Portuguese were unable to assess this man whom they considered to be only some kind of a merchant. It is for this reason that the particular phenomena leading to Islam's successful penetration of the socio-religious beliefs of Kōḷaṭhuṇād should be examined more closely. It is significant that the first signs of the presence of Islam were discovered in the entourage of the royal family. The proximity of the Māṭāyi mosque and the ancient palace proves that at the beginning of the thirteenth century the Muslim area was not segregated at all,¹⁹² and it is in Dharmapaṭam that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa places the miraculous tree, the tank and the pavilions erected by a Kōḷaṭhuṇād prince in memory of his conversion to Islam.¹⁹³

This tradition calls to mind the Chēramān Perumāl legend which must have found circles in Kōḷaṭhuṇād prepared to accommodate and extend it,¹⁹⁴ so that by the end of the eighteenth century the Islamic community of Cannanore had succeeded in bending it in its favour. The stages by which the traditions relating to the Muslim chiefs were developed can be followed. Diogo do Couto, Manuel de Meneses and Zaynuddīn,¹⁹⁵ who were contemporaries of the famous Aḷi Rāja, described him as a powerful dignitary who freed himself of the Kōḷaṭhiri's control and made himself governor of Cannanore. At the beginning of the seventeenth century François Pyrard showed him to be a usurper.¹⁹⁶ But in 1727 the Dutchman Visscher attributed a completely different origin to him; he claimed that one of his ancestors was a princess of the royal family who, having married a Muslim, was believed to have received Cannanore as a dowry on condition that the descendants from the wedlock, while remaining faithful to Islam, should adopt the laws of *marumakkatāyam*.¹⁹⁷ This tradition, as little in keeping with historic reality as with the customs of the high castes, was perhaps misunderstood by Visscher, but his suggestion is evidence of the Cannanore rulers' concern to legitimize an accomplished fact by making it dependent on the royal will. By connecting the governors of Cannanore with the 'Chēramān' cycle, the *Kēraḷōlpatti*, written some years later, endorses their consecration. It confirms that the legendary emperor invited two Muslims from Āryapuram to come and settle in Cannanore and bestowed upon their descendants the title of Aḷi Rāja, i.e. King of the High Seas and all the authority befitting such a position.¹⁹⁸

More probable is the version reported by William Logan. This

makes the Nāyar Arayan Kulangara—who was converted to Islam at the end of the eleventh century and took the name of Muḥammad Alī—the Alī Rājas' ancestor. At that time he was the Kōḷaṭhiri's minister who, as a reward for his competence, allowed him to keep his office and to transfer it to his successors with the title of Mammali Kitavus. The latter were called to all the councils of any importance at which they sat with the points of their swords symbolically placed in a casket to signify that they undertook to finance the decisions of the assembly.¹⁹⁹ The line of succession of the Cannanore Muslim chiefs will be examined in our last chapter. Were they at the beginning of the sixteenth century already basing their authority on some kind of tradition? It must be emphasized here that the contemporaries, who were content to recount the legend of Chēramān Perumāl, made no mention of the Alī Rāja legend, and yet there is no confirmation that Mamale, to whom Gaspar Correia referred as 'Regent of the Sea',²⁰⁰ was not already considered by his own people to be King of the High Seas and that his prestige did not give rise to talk of a legendary origin. By uncovering the facts and activities surrounding Mamale of Cannanore, the Portuguese have demonstrated just how the Muslims were progressing towards supreme power. Before turning to the Maldives, the principal stage for these activities, credit must be given to the foresight of Duarte Barbosa and Tomé Pires who assessed the Islamic community's objectives with such accuracy and both foresaw the rise of a Muslim king.²⁰¹ Although the Portuguese *conquista* was successful in holding this rise in check for several decades, it could do nothing to prevent its fulfilment at the onset of its own decline.

Notes and References

¹ Kaṇṇūr or Kaṇṇanūr = town of Kriṣṇa (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 157).

² Tibbetts (G.R.), *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, translated from *Kitāb al-Fawā'id fī uṣūl al-baḥr wa'l-qawā'id of Aḥmad b. Majid al-Najdi*, London, 1971, p. 201.

³ Fragmentos de instruções a Pedro Alvares Cabral quando foi por capitão mor de uma armada a Índia (1500), *Alg. Doc.*, pp. 102, 104, 106; instructions to the same, without title, TdT, CVR n° 178, f. 1 a.

⁴ G. F. Affaitato to Domenico Pisani Lisbon, 26. VI. 1501 in Sanuto, vol. 4, pp. 67 & 100.

⁵ Amerigo Vespucci to Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici, Capo Verde, 4. VI. 1501 Vignaud, *Americ Vespuce* Paris, 1917, p. 406. There is doubt about the authenticity of this letter a copy of which is contained in the collection of manuscripts n° 1910 of the Biblioteca Riccardiana of Florence.

⁶ *Paesi ritrovati*, anonymous account, chap. 179.

⁷ Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana mss. 1910, f. 56 a. In Lisbon there is also the draft of a letter which D. Manuel is said to have written to the kings 'de Cochye de Cananor' commending Vasco da Gama to them. It was probably written during the preparation of the 1502 expedition. As it was neither dated nor signed its exact timing cannot be ascertained. (TdT CVR, n°71).

⁸ Mandado, Cannanore, 21 Feb. 1503, TdT CC II-7-9; id., Cannanore, 22... 1503, TdT, CC II-7-1; Obrigação, Cannanore, 22 Feb. 1503, TdT, CC II-7-20.

⁹ Pline, ed. *Histoire naturelle*, Ajasson de Grandsagne, Paris, 1830, vol. 5, 1/6, p. 85.

¹⁰ A. S. Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, Kottayam, 1967, p. 66.

¹¹ This money, discovered in 1851, included gold coins bearing the heads of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Caligula and Drusus. (M.J. Walhouse, *Archaeological notes, Indian Antiquary*, vol. 6 (1877), p. 216.

¹² J. F. Fleet, 'Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions', *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 19 (1890), pp. 14 & 17, and Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 3, pp. 51-8.

¹³ Fleet identifies these Mūṣaka with certain Mushika whose kingdom Monier-Williams places between Quilon and the Camorin Cape (*Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, p. 827) which agrees with the text of the *Kēraḷōlpatti*. The *Keralamahātmyam* on the other hand gives the title of 'Mushica Cshatria' to the rāja of Kumbala (to the north of Mount Eli) (Gundert, 'Contents of the Keralamahātmyam', *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, n° 32 (1844), p. 99). The error of localization made by Fleet and Monier-Williams was revealed by K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer ('An Unidentified Territory of Southern India', *JRAS* (April 1922), pp. 161-70) who attempts to prove that the Mūṣakas originated from the area around the Vindhya mountains. Cf. also the identifications put forward in *Epigraphia indica*, vol. 20, pp. 83-4. The matter is resolved not only by the very theme of the *Mūṣakavaṃsa*, but also by the text of the Eramam inscription, in *vetṭeluttu* characters of the eleventh century, which mentions a prince Mūṣaka, and who was discovered in the district of Chirakkal, where Māṭayi and Valarpaṭṭaṇam are situated (*Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, Madras, 1932, n° 523 of 1929-30). A closer examination of the epigraphic data would reveal more information about the Mūṣaka sovereigns; but most of the inscriptions have not been published *in extenso* and call for a thorough analysis of the proper names. The complicated hypotheses put together on the origin of the dynasty are based on evidence which is not substantial enough to be criticized here. I prefer to be guided by the inscriptions alone and will not attempt to follow the history of the Mūṣakas beyond the date of the Bādāmi inscription (601-2). More information is provided by M. G. S. Narayanan, *Mūṣakavaṃsa as a source of History*, Trivandrum, 1977.

¹⁴ There does not appear to be a complete edition of the *Mūṣakavaṃsa*, merely

extracts published in *Travancore Archaeological Series*, vol. 2, p. 87 which regrettably cannot be consulted in Europe. Credit must be given to the analyses of Subrahmanya Aiyer (loc. cit. pp. 107-74) and A. S. Menon (op. cit., p. 170) and M. G. S. Narayanan, 'History from the Musakavamsa Kavya of Atula', *Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference*, 25th session, Calcutta, Oct. 1969, Poona, 1972, pp. 301-10.

¹⁵ The undated Eraman inscription (*Annual Report on Southern Indian Epigraphy*, Madras, 1932, n° 523 of 1929-30), the undated Kannapuram inscription (ibid., n° 476 of 1926) and the Manimangalam inscription, December 1046 (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 3, pp. 51-8).

¹⁶ Subrahmanya Aiyer, loc. cit. pp. 170-4; A. S. Menon, op. cit. p. 170

¹⁷ Cf. G. Bouchon. 'Les Musulmans du Kerala à l'époque de la découverte portugaise', *MLI*, vol. 2 (1973), p. 10 n° 23.

¹⁸ *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 3, p. 56; *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. 4, p. 217.

¹⁹ Marco Polo, *La Description du monde*, ed. Hambis, Paris, 1955, pp. 278-80.

²⁰ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, vol. 4, p. 74; Wang Ta-Yuan, Ma Huan and Fei Sin in Rockhill, 'Notes on the relations and trade of China with the eastern archipelago and the coast of the Indian Ocean during the fourteenth century', *T'oung Pao*, vol. 16 (1915), pp. 454, 457, 461; 'Samārqandī in Major, *India in the XVth century*', London, *W.H.S.*, n° 22, 1857, 1st part, p. 14. This writer adds: 'everywhere else ships which are not expected are pillaged'.

²¹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, vol. 4, pp. 81-7.

²² Ibid., pp. 81-2. It should be noted that at the end of the thirteenth century Abū-l-Fidā' referred to the promontory as *Ra's Haili*, but did not mention any town of the same name (II/2, p. 116).

²³ 'Hsiai-Li'. Wang Ta-Yuan in Rockhill, loc. cit. p. 453.

²⁴ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, vol. 4, p. 82.

²⁵ Defrémery has transcribed the Arabic *kwil* by 'Coueil' (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, vol. 4, pp. 83-5). It is believed that the word in question is in fact the Malayalam *kōvil* = prince.

²⁶ Cosmas Indicopleustes, ed. McCrindle, p. 367.

²⁷ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, vol. 4, p. 87.

²⁸ Nicolo de'Conti (in Major, *India in the XVth Century*, London, 1857, part 2, p. 6) states that 'Helly' was situated in the ginger growing country, on the coast.

²⁹ The Portuguese have only ever referred to the promontory as Eli.

³⁰ Although there were rats all over India, the Portuguese had been particularly surprised by the large number of nests to be found around Mount Eli (Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 83; Correia, I/1, p. 68).

³¹ *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 303. Derived from *ēri* = to climb and *mala* = mountain (Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Oxford, 1961, n° 776 and 3882).

³² Emeneau, op. cit., n° 772; S.K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture*, Poona, 1941, vol. 2, p. 736; Gundert, 'Contents of the Keralamahatmyam', *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, n° 32 (1844), p. 99.

³³ Emeneau, op. cit. n° 710.

³⁴ Correia, I/1, p. 68. This etymology is defended by Logan, vol. 1, p. 6 and Subrahmanya Aiyer, *An Unidentified Territory*, loc. cit., p. 171.

³⁵ S. Aiyer, loc. cit., pp. 166-7. It is also worth remembering that the god

Ganeśa is sometimes portrayed riding a rat, which suggests that the Eli kingdom was consecrated to him.

³⁶ Ramantali inscription, in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, Madras, 1932, n° 474 of 1926. The Manigramam was a merchants' guild the headquarters of which was at Kollam.

³⁷ S. Aiyer, loc. cit., p. 175.

³⁸ Opinion shared by S. Aiyer (ibid.) and Yule. *The Book of Ser Marco, the Venetian*, London, 1875, pp. 376–7.

³⁹ T. K. Joseph, A Hebrew Inscription from Parur, *Kerala Society Papers*, vol. 3 (1930), p. 167.

⁴⁰ Gundert, 'Hebrew Version of the Jewish Sasaram with Translation into English; together with a Notice of an Ancient Malayalam Poem, called the Song of Payanur', *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, n° 31 (1844), p. 41.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 15.

⁴² S. Aiyer, loc. cit., p. 171; S. Menon, op. cit., p. 170.

⁴³ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 79. Barbosa transcribes 'Maranel' whereas the other Portuguese writers write 'Marabia', 'Maravia', sometimes 'Morabia', the retroflexed T being interpreted as R.

⁴⁴ R. Sewell, *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains of the Presidency of Madras*, Madras, 1822, pp. 242–3; C. Achyuta Menon, *A Note on Kali or Bhagavati Cult of Kerala*, K. Aiyangar commemoration volume, p. 237.

⁴⁵ Correia, IV/2, pp. 692–3.

⁴⁶ Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, University of California, 1968, pp. 246–7; 'From the Mediterranean to India', *Speculum*, vol. 29 (1954), pp. 181–97.

⁴⁷ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 80; Francisco de Albuquerque in Cessi, 'L'itinerario indiano di Francisco dal Bocchier di 1518, *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, rendiconti, serie ottava, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, 6/5–6 (maggio 1951), p. 242.

⁴⁸ Cf. G. Bouchon, 'Les Musulmans du Kerala a l'époque de la découverte Portugaise', in *MLI*, vol. 2 (1973), p. 14.

⁴⁹ Gundert, loc. cit., p. 16.

⁵⁰ Sewell, *Lists*, p. 242.

⁵¹ Logan, vol. 1, p. 194; Innes-Evans, *Madras District Gazetteers, Malabar*, Madras, 1951, p. 424; Sewell, op. cit., p. 242; Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, collected till 1915*, Madras, 1919, vol. 2, p. 1042.

⁵² Zaynuddin/Lopes, p. 22.

⁵³ Logan, vol. 1, p. 194; P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, Ernakulam, 1924, vol. 2, p. 194.

⁵⁴ Sewell, *Lists*, p. 241.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 243.

⁵⁶ Marco Polo, *La description du monde*, Paris, 1955, p. 279.

⁵⁷ Pires, vol. 2, p. 359.

⁵⁸ Zaynuddin/Lopes, p. 25.

⁵⁹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, vol. 4, p. 82.

⁶⁰ Barros, III/9–6, pp. 483–4; Castanheda, VI/91, pp. 292–3. Cf. map n° 2.

⁶¹ *Vide infra*, chap. VI, p. 174.

⁶² Logan, vol. 1, p. 4; G. Kuriyan, 'Some Aspects of the Regional Geography

of Kerala' in *Indian Geographical Journal*, vol. 17/1 (1942), p. 4.

⁶³ Innes-Evans, *Madras District Gazetteers*, p. 7.

⁶⁴ P. Peragallo, 'Viaggio di Matteo da Bergamo in India sulla flotta di Vasco da Gama' (1502-3) in *Studi bibliografici e biografici sulla storia della geografia in Italia*, Roma, 1875, p. 114.

⁶⁵ Varthema/Schefer, p. 146.

⁶⁶ Logan, vol. 1, p. 7.

⁶⁷ S. Aiyer, *An Unidentified Territory*, p. 175.

⁶⁸ Particularly in Cherukunnu, Kannapuram, Kunjimangalam, (Sewell, *Lists*, pp. 241-2).

⁶⁹ Logan, vol. 1, pp. 238-9.

⁷⁰ The Kōlathiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, p. 400; mandado, Cannanore, 20 June 1513, CA, VI, p. 87; Castanheda, I/43, p. 94; Barros, I/5-10, p. 220; Correia, I/1, pp. 257-8.

⁷¹ *Vide supra*, p. 2.

⁷² Varthema/Schefer, pp. 141-3.

⁷³ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, pp. 79-84.

⁷⁴ Logan, vol. 1, pp. 231-6.

⁷⁵ A. S. Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, Kottayam, 1967, pp. 169-73, 181, 182, 204-5.

⁷⁶ K. P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, Ernakulam, 1929, vol. 1, pp. 13-15, vol. 2, pp. 187-231.

⁷⁷ Barbosa writes that Kumbļa (Cumbola) belonged to Vijayanagar (vol. 2, p. 79). This is contradicted by Pires (vol. 2, p. 358) who includes Kumbļa (Combula) among the king of Cannanore's possessions. We are more inclined to believe the former who had a better knowledge of Kōlathunāḍ.

⁷⁸ A pilgrimage takes place every year, in March, to the Temple of Tiruchem-maram (Logan, vol. 1, p. 163; Innes-Evans, *Madras District Gazetteers, Malabar*, Madras, 1951, p. 425). This pilgrimage is mentioned as early as the fifteenth century in the *Kokisandesā* of Uddanda Sastrikal (A. S. Menon, op. cit., p. 16). The monuments built at the beginning of the sixteenth century in Taliparamba are evidence of the town's importance at that time. (Rangacharya, *A Topographical List*, p. 1042; inscription of the Taliparamba *tanque*, in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, Madras, 1932, n° 472 of 1926); Sewell also indicates a large and important mosque, possibly built later. *Lists*, p. 243.

⁷⁹ 'Taliparam', (Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 80).

⁸⁰ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 80.

⁸¹ 'A qual ponta da banda do sul faz grande habia (sic), que he ho porto de suas naos que nom tem barra, e da banda do norte he piçarra de penedia, em que bate o mar...' (Correia, I/1, p. 168).

⁸² Pires, vol. 2, p. 359; D. Aires da Gama a D. Manuel, Cannanore, 2 Jan. 1519, *As Gavetas*, vol. 4, p. 220; Correia, I/2, p. 729; Innes-Evans, *Madras District Gazetteers, Malabar*, p. 419.

⁸³ Varthema/Schefer, p. 141; Correia, I/1, p. 68.

⁸⁴ Correia, I/1, p. 170.

⁸⁵ João de Avila to D. Manuel, (sumário), Cannanore, c. 1510-12, CA, III, p. 321.

⁸⁶ Varthema/Schefer, p. 140.

⁸⁷ Varthema/Schefer, p. 143; Logan, vol. 1, p. 65.

⁸⁸ Pires, vol. 2, p. 359.

⁸⁹ Varthema/Schefer, pp. 150–1; Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, pp. 81–2; Pires, vol. 2, p. 359; Logan, vol. 1, p. 195.

⁹⁰ 'Quategatam' near the Kuthuperamba of today, Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 82, n. 2; Logan, vol. 1, p. 11.

⁹¹ The names of the towns are listed by Duarte Barbosa and Tome Pires in the same order but in a slightly different form and are comparable with the modern toponyms. Thus, although it is difficult to identify 'Tiramuigate' (Barbosa, vol. 2, p. 84) on the south side of the Tellicherry river mouth, Mahe, which Pires places in the 'Mailariavij' area of Cannanore's influence (vol. 2, p. 359) is recognizable, as is Cōmbal ('Combaa, *ibid.*) which the same writer includes in the Calicut kingdom. According to Duarte Barbosa these two cities ('Manjaim' and 'Chamobai') were no longer under the influence of the Cannanore kingdom (Dames, vol. 2, p. 84) but were definitely not an integral part of the Calicut kingdom. The state of Calicut begins at a river which he calls 'Hopadirpatão' ('Putupatanam', according to Pires, which can be identified with the Kōṭṭa the mouth of which is marked by the port of Putupattanam). Obviously, attempts to establish the border of the various kingdoms must be restricted to the coastal areas, the inland frontiers being more difficult to trace.

⁹² Innes, *Malabar and Anjengo*, vol. 2, Madras, 1908, p. 396; A. S. Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 169; P. Menon, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 187–8 refers to the dynasty as *Kōla svarūpam*. The title of Kōḷaṭhiri has been distorted by the Portuguese writers, particularly in 'Cobertorim' (Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 6). The etymology of the 'Coutal Ray' given by Schefer and derived from the Persian *Koutouwal* (Varthema/Schefer *op. cit.*, p. XLII, note 2) must be disputed.

⁹³ Innes, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 26. The Chirakkal rājas claimed to be of the Kṣatriya caste, whereas most of the other Malabar sovereigns belonged to the Samantan caste (*Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 115). Certain Portuguese writers believed the other Malabar kings to be Brahmins, for example Castanheda (I/14, p. 36) and Pires who nevertheless spotted nuance: 'a melhor geraçam destes sam chatrias...' (vol. 2, p. 353). On the legendary origins of the Kōḷaṭhiris, cf. Gundert, Contents of Keralamahatmya, *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. 32 (1844), pp. 99–101; another version of the *Keralamahatmyam* reported by T. K. Joseph, 'Brahma pratishtha', *Kerala Society Papers*, vol. 3 (1930), pp. 135–42, attributes to Udaya Varma the introduction of the Canara Brahmins to Kōḷaṭhunad, c. 1044–89.

⁹⁴ Logan, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 234.

⁹⁵ 'el rey dely' (The Kōḷaṭhiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, p. 400); 'Kultari-Hili' (The Kōḷaṭhiri to D. Manuel, TdT, Cartas orientais, n° 50).

⁹⁶ A. S. Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 172 quotes in particular Kērala Varma (1423–46), Śaṅkara Rāma Varma (died 1443), who wrote *Bhārata samgraha* and *Chandrika kalapida*, in Sanskrit and Udaya Varma (1446–75).

⁹⁷ A. S. Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 171; P. Menon, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 194. For further details on the Malabar kings of the sixteenth century, cf. Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2 pp. 6–25; Pires, vol. 2, pp. 354–5; Castanheda, I/13, pp. 34–5, I/14, pp. 35–7, among others.

⁹⁸ The royal succession was still patrilineal in the eleventh century, as in the *Mūṣakavaṃsa* (A. S. Menon, op. cit., p. 170). For information on the *marumak-katāyam* system in general, cf. Innes, *Malabar and Anjengo*, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 95–100.

⁹⁹ P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, Ernakulam, 1929, vol. 2, p. 194.

¹⁰⁰ P. Menon, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 194, Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 79, places the king's nephew, the guardian of the northern frontier, in the Kattakulam fortress.

¹⁰¹ Menon, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 194–5.

¹⁰² P. Menon, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 202; Gaspar Pereira to D. Manuel, Cochin, 11 Jan. 1506, CA, II, pp. 359–60; Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 15 Jan. 1506, CA, III, pp. 175–6; Letters of António de Saldanha (sumário), 1510–12, CA, II, p. 334.

¹⁰³ Logan, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 283. The Chirakkal palace is still standing (Innes-Evans, *Madras District Gazetteers, Malabar*, Madras 1951, p. 422). The *Eli Kōvilagam* was abandoned when the royal family split into two branches: the Udayagalam, which no longer exists, and the Palli which has survived to this day.

¹⁰⁴ Logan, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 229 and 283; Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 80. According to Diogo do Couto, the Kōlaṭhiri made a visit to Mātāyi in 1559 (VII/8–3). The Chirakkal Rājas were cremated in the Valarpattāṇam citadel (Innes-Evans, *Madras District Gazetteers*, op. cit., p. 425).

¹⁰⁵ P. Menon, op. cit., p. 193. The ordeals formerly took place at the Kalarivāṭṭukkal of Valarpattāṇam (Innes-Evans, op. cit., p. 426).

¹⁰⁶ P. Menon, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 195; for details of the king's relationship with his chaplain, cf. L. Dumont, *Homo hierarchicus*, Paris, 1967, pp. 351–9.

¹⁰⁷ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 62; Correia, I/1, pp. 69–70, 114.

¹⁰⁸ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, pp. 62–3. The 'Canacas' soothsayers of Barbosa are in fact *Kaṇiyāns* (P. Menon, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 448–55; Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, vol. 3, pp. 178–200).

¹⁰⁹ For general information on the Nāyars, see Thurston, op. cit., vol. 5, pp. 283–413; for some of the oldest descriptions, cf. Varthema/Schefer, pp. 169–71; Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, pp. 38–55; Pires, vol. 2 pp. 353, 335–6; Correia, I/1, pp. 95, 97, 110, 111, 299, 353–7; Castanheda, I/14, pp. 37–9.

¹¹⁰ Pires, vol. 2, p. 357.

¹¹¹ Wang Ta-Yuan in Rockhill, 'Notes on the Relations and Trade of China, T'oung Pao', vol. 16 (1915), p. 453.

¹¹² Varthema/Schefer, p. 143; Castanheda, I/81, p. 171.

¹¹³ Varthema/Schefer, p. 143; Albuquerque estimated the Kōlaṭhiri's forces at more than sixty thousand Nāyars (Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 4 Dec. 1513, CA, IV, p. 184).

¹¹⁴ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 46.

¹¹⁵ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 29. For information on these schools, or *kalari*, cf. P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, Ernakulam, 1929, vol. 2, pp. 469–76, and that of Valarpattāṇam, *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 193.

¹¹⁶ Samarqandi in Major, *India in the XVth Century*, London, 1857; first part, p. 17. For information on military techniques, cf. C. V. Narayanan Nair, 'Fencing in Ancient Kerala', *Kerala Society Papers*, vol. 10 (1932), pp. 347–9.

¹¹⁷ This title of *alguazil* frequently conferred by the Portuguese does not imply any specific duty and was given either to ministers or governors.

¹¹⁸ This information was given to M. P. Menon by Radjaravivārma Māvālik-kara, a descendant of the Kōlāṭhiris (P. Menon, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 194–5). It cannot be affirmed that the structures existing in the sixteenth century were identical to those he describes and it should not be assumed that the Cannanore dignitaries were included in them. It is likely, however, that most of them already existed: the names of the offices conveyed by the Portuguese leave us in not doubt in this respect.

¹¹⁹ According to the Portuguese texts, it seems that the Nātuvāri ('natori', 'natorym', 'outilim') was also responsible for judicial matters. 'Elrey de Calicut, e assi todos os outros reys do Malabar tem hū regedor que tẽ cargo da justiça...' (Castanheda, I/14, p. 37). The same person is referred to by Correia as Gozil (*justica mor do reyno* (I/2, p. 713). One should not attach too much importance to the various names given to him by the texts, but rather to recognize his duties; the identity of the *regedor* and the *natori* appear in the following letters: Gaspar Pereira to D. Manuel, Cochín, 11 Jan. 1506, CA, II, pp. 359–60; Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 15 Jan. 1506, CA, III, pp. 175–6.

¹²⁰ For information on the Malabar rājas' income, cf. Innes, *Malabar and Anjengo*, vol. 2, p. 307.

¹²¹ 'Taliar' (Hobson-Jobson, p. 892); 'Talaiyāri' (Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms and of Useful Words Occurring in Official Documents*, London, 1855, p. 506); Duarte Barbosa to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 12 Jan. 1513, CA, III, p. 48.

¹²² A. S. Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, Kottayam, 1967, p. 140.

¹²³ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 6, confirmed by Castanheda, I/14, pp. 35–6.

¹²⁴ Logan, vol. 1, pp. 231–2.

¹²⁵ Velu Pillai Pate, *Travancore state manual*, Trivandrum, 1940, vol. 2, pp. 121–2.

¹²⁶ Ibid.; P. Menon, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 190–1; Logan, vol. 1, p. 235; Innes, *Malabar and Anjengo*, vol. 2, p. 397. For information on the *pulasambandham*, cf. Innes, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 95.

¹²⁷ 'elle (the Kōlāṭhiri) nom tinha obrigação de lhe dar obediencia senão seu tempo certo, que então lhe hiria dar, como sempre fazia' (Correia, I/1, p. 177).

¹²⁸ A. S. Menon, op. cit., p. 181; Logan, vol. 1, p. 235. At the time when Duarte Barbosa was writing, the rāja of Nīlēsvaram (Miraporão) had revolted against his uncle the Kōlāṭhiri who annexed his land (Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 79).

¹²⁹ The Kōlāṭhiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, p. 400: 'el rey meu tyo... porque nam quis que em os estranhos reynos disesem que todos os reys de malabar eram maos e sem verdade, mandou loguo seus homes a cochym a roguarlhe que se viesem por aquy, e Pedralvares que entam are capitam, se veo aqui....'

¹³⁰ Particularly at the time of the siege of the Portuguese fortress, *vide infra*, chap. IV, pp. 92, 94, 102. The assistance was reciprocal; Dharmapaṭam and Cannanore sent Nāyars and ammunition when the Zamorin, who had been put in a difficult position by Duarte Pacheco in 1504, saw his army being decimated by an epidemic (Castanheda, I/81, p. 171).

¹³¹ *Vide infra*, chap. IV, p. 94.

¹³² For information on the Devarāya incursions (1406–22) in Kerala, cf. N. Sastri, *A History of South India from the Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar*, London, 1966, p. 270; for information on the massacre of the Honāvār Nāvayats

in 1427, cf. V. D'Souza, *The Nāvayat of Canara, a Study in Culture Contact*, Dharvar, 1955, pp. 36–41, 49–50. The fact that in 1523 Pedro Nunes gave the Rāya the erroneous title of 'Emperador de Malabar' makes it possible to assess the latter's influence over the neighbouring countries (Pedro Nunes to D. João III, Goa, 25 Oct. 1523, TdT, CC I-30–46, f. 1a).

¹³³ *Vide infra*, chap. IV, p. 81.

¹³⁴ Logan, vol. 1, p. 277. The Samorin was 'lord of men' and the Kōlathiri of Vēṇād 'lord of the elephants'.

¹³⁵ According to Varthema, all that grew there were cucumbers and marrows. (Varthema/Schefer, p. 141).

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 142; Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 83; Correia, I/1, p. 167.

¹³⁷ Afonso de Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Goa, 20 Dec. 1514, CA, III, p. 268; Pires, vol. 2, p. 362; Francisco de Albuquerque in Cessi, *L'itinerario indiano*, loc. cit., p. 242; Godinho, *Economie*, pp. 583–6.

¹³⁸ This was the *cinnamomum iners* which Francisco de Albuquerque described as 'acerba' (in Cessi, loc. cit., p. 242). Garcia found it to be bad (*Colóquios dos simples e drogas da India*, Lisbon, 1891, I, p. 206) and smaller than that found in Ceylon (*ibid.*, p. 212).

¹³⁹ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 83; Wang Ta-Yuan in Rockhill, loc. cit., p. 453; Varthema/Schefer, p. 142. J. Fryer had seen the best pepper of the region in Dharmapaṭam (ed. Crooke, *A New Account of East India and Persia*, London, W.H.S. n 19–20, 1909–15, vol. 1, p. 144). To this day the Taliparamba pepper is one of the best in Malabar (Innes-Evans, *Madras District Gazetteers, Malabar, Madras*, 1951, p. 417).

¹⁴⁰ The pepper was so rare that G. Correia wrote that there was none (I/1, p. 167); Logan, vol. 1, p. 11.

¹⁴¹ Varthema/Schefer, p. 142; Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 83; F. de Albuquerque in Cessi, loc. cit., p. 242; for information on all these medicinal plants cf. Godinho, *Economie*, pp. 609–14.

¹⁴² Duarte Barbosa to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 12 Jan. 1513, CA, III, p. 49. During that year the *feitoria* purchased four thousand *quintais* and could have bought six or seven thousand.

¹⁴³ Wang Ta-Yuan in Rockhill, 'Notes on the Relations and Trade of China, *T'oung Pao*', vol. 16 (1951), p. 453.

¹⁴⁴ Gaspar Pereira to D. Manuel, Cochín, 30 Dec. 1505, CA, II, p. 361.

¹⁴⁵ Barbosa lists the towns with which Cannanore had commercial relations: Cambay, Ormuz, Dabhol, Chaul, Banda, Goa (ed. Dames, vol. 2, p. 81). Correia states: 'as navegocões de Cochym e Cananor, qui hião carregados de roupas, com que corrião a Malaca, Maluco, Banda e per outras partes, donde tornavão carregados de drogas, e canella que tomavão em Ceylão a vinda' (I/2, p. 622).

¹⁴⁶ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 1, pp. 170, 184–96.

¹⁴⁷ Correia, I/1, p. 362.

¹⁴⁸ Gaspar Pereira to D. Manuel, Cochín, 30 Dec. 1505, CA, II, p. 361; Afonso de Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 122; the same to the same, Cannanore, 4 Dec. 1513: 'na terra he muito arroz, e tramapatam e cananor ho abastaceram sempre em grande abstanca...as naos de calecut se varam em tramapatam....' CA, IV, p. 177).

¹⁴⁹ For an overall picture of the activity of the Malabar ports, cf. G. Bouchon,

Les Musulmans du Kerala, loc. cit., pp. 39–54.

¹⁵⁰ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 79; Correia, I/1, pp. 337 and 411, I/2, p. 518; Afonso de Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 10 Dec. 1514, CA, I, p. 357.

¹⁵¹ From the first expeditions the Portuguese ships purchased in Cannanore all their provisions and equipment: rice and dried fish for the *Santa Maria de Fayall*, Cannanore, 9 Oct. 1503, TdT, CC II 11-7–168; rice, halyard and roping, cococut oil for the *São Paulo*, Cannanore, 23 Dec. 1503, TdT, CC II 7–99; rice and fish for the *Raynha nova*, Cannanore, 26 Jan. 1504, TdT, CC II 8–7; rice and dried fish and roping for the *Santiago*, Cannanore, 26 Jan. 1504, CA, II, p. 49; rice and dried fish for the *Cirnê*, Cannanore, 26 Jan. 1504, TdT, CC II 9–1; roping for the *Cirnê*, Cannanore, 7 Sept. 1504, TdT, CC II 9–3; rice and fish for the *Leitoa nova*, Cannanore, 13 Oct. 1504, TdT, CC II 9–11; coconuts and fish for the *Cirnê*, Cannanore 5 Jan. 1505, TdT, CC II 4–36; naval equipment for the *Leitoa nova*, Cannanore, 5 Jan. 1505, TdT, CC II 9–35 and countless others.

¹⁵² Varthema/Schefer, p. 141.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ The Kōlāṭhīri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, p. 401.

¹⁵⁵ The Kōlāṭhīri to D. Manuel, s.l.n.d., TdT, *Cartas orientais* n° 50; the same to Martim Afonso de Sousa, s.l.n.d., TdT, São Lourenço III-130, f. 1 b, published hereafter, doc. n° 7.

¹⁵⁶ The Kōlāṭhīri to Martim Afonso de Sousa, *ibid.* For information on the horse trade between Ormuz and India cf. J. Aubin, '*Le Royaume d'Ormuz au début du XVI^e siècle*', *MLI*, vol. 2 (1973), pp. 117–18, 168–9.

¹⁵⁷ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 1, p. 187; F. de Albuquerque in Cessi, *L'itinerario indiano*, p. 242.

¹⁵⁸ Varthema/Schefer, p. 141; the Kōlāṭhīri to Martim Afonso de Sousa, s.l.n.d., TdT, São Lourenço, III-130, f. 1 b.

¹⁵⁹ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 1, p. 210. We shall not attempt to assess the price put on the horses by the Cannanore merchants. The only reliable statements are those concerning the Goa trade and are post 1510, that is after the Portuguese had taken over the horse trade and had begun to keep accounts.

¹⁶⁰ Castanheda (II/16, p. 245) adds that the horse importers were exonerated from all due rights across Vijayanagar. This is confirmed by Góis, II/6, p. 22.

¹⁶¹ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 1, p. 94.

¹⁶² Afonso de Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, pp. 88–9.

¹⁶³ The Kōlāṭhīri to Martim Afonso de Sousa, s.l.n.d., TdT, São Lourenço, III-130, f. 1 b.

¹⁶⁴ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 80; Francisco de Albuquerque in Cessi, loc. cit., p. 242.

¹⁶⁵ D. Alonso to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 27 Dec. 1514, published in Silva Rego, *Documentação para a história das missões do padroado português do Oriente, Índia*, I (1499–1522), Lisbon, 1947, doc. 113.

¹⁶⁶ Pyrard de Laval was to see Malabar Muslims from the north serving on the ships: 'Moucois and Tivas and other drudges'.

¹⁶⁷ A. S. Menon, op. cit., p. 90.

¹⁶⁸ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 73.

¹⁶⁹ According to Amat di San Filippo, his real name was 'Del Pan' (*Biografia dei*

viaggiatori italiani colle bibliografie delle loro opere, Roma, 1882, p. 173). For further information about this character, cf. Peragallo, 'Viaggio di Matteo da Bergamo in India sulla flotta di Vasco da Gama (1502-3)' in *Studi bibliografici e biografici sulla storia della geografia in Italia*, Roma, 1875, p. 128. He was sent back to Europe by João da Nova in 1502 (Sanuto; vol. 4, pp. 544 and 546). Barros gives an erroneous date for his return (1504) I/8-3, p. 312, as does Morelli (1505) in *Dissertazione intorno ad alcuni viaggiatori eruditi veneziani poco noti*, Venezia 1803, p. 89. cf. also Sousa Viterbo, *Trabalhos nauticos dos Portugueses*, Lisbon, 1898, vol. 1, p. 24, vol. 2, p. 139.

¹⁷⁰ Those of Māṭāyi, Śrikandapuram, Valarpaṭṭaṇam, Dharmapaṭam are situated in Kōḷaṭhunad, and those of Bārūkūr, Mangalore and Kasaragod towards the south of Canara.

¹⁷¹ R. Sewell, *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Madras, 1882, p. 242

¹⁷² Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, vol. 4, pp. 81-7.

¹⁷³ Zaynuddīn/Lopes, p. 25; Logan, vol. 1, p. 11; Innes, *Malabar and Anjengo*, vol. 2, p. 397.

¹⁷⁴ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, pp. 79-80.

¹⁷⁵ Correia, I/1, p. 291, II/2, p. 864, III/1, p. 284; Castanheda, VII/92, p. 164.

¹⁷⁶ Castanheda, VII/90, p. 159.

¹⁷⁷ Varthema/Schefer, pp. 150-1.

¹⁷⁸ Pires, vol. 2, p. 359.

¹⁷⁹ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 82.

¹⁸⁰ Correia, I/2, pp. 592, 622, 740.

¹⁸¹ G. Bouchon, Les Musulmans du Kerala à l'époque de la découverte portugaise, *MLI*, vol. 2 (1972), pp. 51-9.

¹⁸² This office is expressed by the word *regedor* (Correia, II/1, p. 391, II/2, p. 861, III/1, p. 16); Poca Amame to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 14 Jan. 1528, TdT, CC I-38-84, f. 1 a.) or *mouro principal* (The Kōḷaṭhiri to Martim Afonso de Sousa, TdT, São Lourenço, III/130, f. 2 b). See documents, n° 6 and 7.

¹⁸³ Poca Amame to D. João III, *ibid.*; Zaynuddīn/Lopes, p. 65. According to the same writer most of the Cannanore Muslims had adopted the *marumak-katāyam* (p. 27).

¹⁸⁴ João de Avila, *sumário*, 1510-12, CA, III, pp. 322-3.

¹⁸⁵ *Vide infra*, p. 36.

¹⁸⁶ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 81 (Cragiate = Edakkad).

¹⁸⁷ Correia, I/1, pp. 122-3.

¹⁸⁸ The Kōḷaṭhiri to Martim Afonso de Sousa, s.l.n.d., TdT, São Lourenço, III/130, f. 1 b and 2 a.

¹⁸⁹ Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, s.l., 15 Jan. 1506, CA, III, p. 176 'porque era estrebaria d'alguns cavalos seas'.

¹⁹⁰ A letter from the Kōḷaṭhiri to D. Manuel, undated but probably written in 1505, bears the signature of the secretary Šamsuddīn ('Sun of the Faith') TdT, *Cartas orientais*, n° 50.

¹⁹¹ Pires, vol. 2, p. 359.

¹⁹² Logan, vol. 1, p. 194.

¹⁹³ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 84-7.

¹⁹⁴ Particularly since at the end of the sixteenth century the place where Chēramān Perumāl made his farewells was thought to be Dharmapaṭam (Zaynuddin/Lopes, p. 21). One version of the Chēramān Perumāl legend deals with the origin of Māṭāyi. It is cited here for interest only as its source is somewhat unreliable. It is taken from the *Keralamahātmyam* which was written in the eighteenth century and in such bad Sanskrit that Gundert himself was not sure of the accuracy of his interpretation given in 'Contents of the Keralamahātmyam', *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. 32 (1844), pp. 101–3. The account, which is very confused, is probably a compilation of several legends. A Buddhist woman who came from the country of the seven hills—that is Eli—seduced a *ṛṣi* by whom she had a son. She secretly exchanged this child for the son of the eleventh Kōḷaṭhiri. The stolen child was named Mammali and brought up under the protection of Kṛiṣṇa. The minister Kroda, who knew what had happened, stayed with the heir apparent and trained him to be king, but on the coronation day the goddess Bhadrakālī refused to protect a prince whose mother was Buddhist. In spite of this he reigned and founded the town of Māṭāyi where he built a Buddhist *vihāra* (the poem's index refers to it as a mosque). This twelfth Kōḷaṭhiri changed the law of the land; although he was tolerant and generous towards the Brahmins, he surrounded himself with Buddhist dignitaries and extended his control along the coast. He had been reigning for thirty-five years when Paraśurāma returned. He drove out the Buddhists and cut off the king's hands and feet which grew again when the latter prayed to his father, the *ṛṣi*. With the help of thirty-five spirits he built the town of Valarpaṭṭaṇam where he reigned with the Buddhists (the poem's index refers to them as Māppīlas). He stole the sacred sword of Taliparamba so that his sovereignty could not be contested, but he was unable to escape punishment. While he was being held by Śiva, who was in disguise, his wife was making advances to Kroda, the minister. As the latter refused to succumb, she took revenge by accusing him of attempting to seduce her. Before going to his punishment Kroda was lifted into the air and disappeared, directing the king to go to Mecca in order to worship Viṣṇu in all his forms and thus save his soul. The king obeyed, leaving his favourite to rule Māṭāyi with the Buddhists. Some years later, Kerala having been attacked by a demon, the nephew of a Kulaśekhara was invited by Kālī to build a palace to the south-east of the seven hills so that she could manifest her power there. This then was the origin of the Māṭāyi palace.

What can be learnt from such information? It is clear that no attempt should be made to link the name of Mammali, given to the legitimate prince, to that of some Aḷi Rājas of Cannanore. But it is possible that, as a reaction against the exploitation by the Muslims of the Chēramān legend, the Brahmins invented this version to prove that the sovereign converted to Islam was not legitimate. Moreover, the mixing up of *vihāra* with mosque and Buddhist with Māppīla would suggest that the people recalling the events confused Buddhism with Islam. Attaching to the town of Māṭāyi is the memory of a power which was foreign to Hinduism and which entered into direct conflict with the established Brahminic society.

Cf. the reference to the Chēramān Perumāl legend in G. Bouchon, 'Les Musulmans du Kerala à l'époque de la découverte portugaise', *MLI*, vol. 2 (1973) pp. 21–4.

¹⁹⁵ Zaynuddin/Lopes, pp. 69–70; Couto, VII/6–4, VII/7–3, VII/10–19; Manuel de Meneses, *Chronica do muyto alto e muyto esclarecido prinipe D. Sebas-*

tião decimo sexto Rei de Portugal, Lisbon 1730, vol. 1., pp. 57–8.

¹⁹⁶ Pyrdard, I, pp. 725–6.

¹⁹⁷ Visscher, quoted by P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, Ernakulam, 1929, vol. 2, p. 539.

¹⁹⁸ P. Menon, *ibid.*; Logan, vol. 1, p. 236.

¹⁹⁹ M. V. D'Souza has studied other traditions of the Āḷi Rājas—and in particular those concerning their *tharavad*—although they were not observed until after the sixteenth century. ('Social Organisation and Marriage Customs of the Moplahs of the South West Coast of India', *Anthropos*, vol. 54 (1959), pp. 495, 505).

²⁰⁰ Correia, II/1, p. 391.

²⁰¹ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 82; Pires, vol. 2, p. 359.

II. The Islands

The Laccadive and Maldivé archipelagoes cover more than two thousand six hundred kilometres from the north to the south of the Arabian Sea,¹ and are separated by two wide channels on either side of Minicoy.² The toponymical differentiation is recent. The northern islands are commonly referred to as the Laccadives and those to the south as the Maldives, which is somewhat surprising since the Laccadives which in Sanskrit means 'the hundred thousand islands',³ consist of no more than about fifteen islands, whereas the Maldives, which are made up of several thousand, simply take their name from Male, the capital island.⁴ In fact the Laccadives must originally have included both archipelagoes⁵ as did the *Dibajāt*,⁶ the name given to the islands by the Arab travellers during the medieval period. For, although a distinction was sometimes made between the 'Dib-al-Kanbar' and the 'Dib-al-kuzah', by al-Birūnī⁷ for example, the term *Dibajāt* is the one most often referred to in writing by geographers. Similarly, the native inhabitants called them *Divi*—the islands⁸—which is how the two archipelagoes will be described throughout this study.

Travellers described these islands as innumerable, most of them only being visible at low tide—roving islands, so low that 'they are born and lost at the whim of the tides'⁹ which from time to time uncover fords which can be crossed on foot.¹⁰ They lie so close together that the tops of the palm trees on one can be seen as soon as one leaves another. If a ship loses its way, it will be unable to enter the archipelago and the wind will carry it towards Ma'abar or Ceylon.¹¹ The Maldives consist of nineteen atolls, some of which are under water.¹² 'These atolls are quasi-round or oval ... and are arranged in a line one after the other from the north to the south. They are completely separated from each other by sea channels, some wide, some very narrow. From the middle of an atoll can be seen all around that great stone bank ... which surrounds and protects the islands from the impetuosity of the sea. But it is a frightening experience, even for the bravest, to approach this bank and see coming from afar waves which dash furiously all around...'.¹³ These reefs made sailing perilous—'labirinto de navegar antre eles...'.¹⁴

The history of the Maldives has been documented by two

Indian Civil Service agents, A. Gray and H. C. Bell, neither of whom were disheartened by the unhealthy climate which was so debilitating that the British Crown exempted its representatives from living there.¹⁵ In 1922, H. C. Bell supervised an archaeological operation the objective of which was to identify the remains of Buddhist monasteries in the southern atolls.¹⁶ These discoveries, like the philological studies of W. Geiger,¹⁷ confirmed the belief that the equatorial archipelago had formerly been under the control of the Indo-Europeans of Ceylon.¹⁸ But the Sinhalese influence, which probably continued to be exerted in the medieval period, was soon replaced by that of Islam.

From their earliest expeditions to the Far East, the Muslim seafarers ran into the *Dibajāt*. It had become their practice to rest there in order to take on board fresh water, repair their ships and even replace any parts lost in the storms. The islands' inhabitants had in fact made the most of their only natural resource, the coconut palm, and had succeeded in establishing a rudimentary naval industry. They built small galleys with pointed bows—*gundras*¹⁹—the planks of which were stitched together with coir as were all the ships of the Indian seas.²⁰ The same fibre was used to stitch the sails and make the ropes which were renowned throughout the Indian Ocean countries as they did not disintegrate upon contact with sea water.²¹ The islanders also learned how to preserve fish, in particular bonito²² which was in plentiful supply around the atolls. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes in length the preparation of this red-fleshed fish, pieces of which were hung from the branches of the coconut palms to dry in the sun before being given to the passing seafarers or exported to India and China.²³ The most modest of the archipelago's natural resources—shell-fish—was also turned to profit; once emptied and washed, it was used as money, particularly by the people on the east coast of the Gulf of Bengal who preferred it to coins of common metal.²⁴ The products of this primitive economy were mainly bartered for rice which was not grown on the islands and was brought in by Bengali ships.²⁵

The islanders had lived from this trade from time immemorial and the visits by Arab ships had given new life to their economy. The spread of Islam probably began very early, by means of temporary marriages to native women,²⁶ but did not definitively replace Buddhism until the twelfth century,²⁷ in other words when it appeared with a new force in Kerala. The island converts adopted

the malekite rite,²⁸ but did not abandon their own particular beliefs and continued to worship the spirits.

The Muslim travellers' and in particular Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who lived there for four years, provided the first descriptions of the Dībajāt. The detailed account he left of his stay³⁰ there can only be compared to that written by François Pyrard three centuries later;³¹ three centuries during which time seemed to stand still, so similar were the customs of everyday life and the routines of commercial activities. These texts demonstrate the slowness of a development which was barely discernible and both compensate for the brevity of the sixteenth century travellers by filling out their accounts.

Nevertheless, and in spite of their lack of detail, the writings of Mamale's contemporaries had been used as a basis of my study: Girolamo da Santo Stefano, who ran aground on the Maldives in 1497;³² Duarte Barbosa, who was probably informed by the Cannanore merchants;³³ and mainly Valentim Fernandes, who, it seems, acquired information about one of the first Portuguese reconnaissance missions to the islands.³⁴

At the time when the latter was writing, the number of islands was estimated at twelve thousand.³⁵ About ten atolls had been discovered in the equatorial archipelago—'ten or twelve' according to Barbosa,³⁶ but more probably thirteen, a number corresponding to the 'climates' of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa,³⁷ the *atollons* of François Pyrard,³⁸ and the *patanas* of Alvaro Fernandes.³⁹ Their population had been reduced by fever and poverty.⁴⁰ Basically an Aryan people, who had been affected by Dravidian and Semitic⁴¹ settlers, they had two languages: Mahl, in which Sinhalese can be detected, was widely used in the archipelago;⁴² Arabic was understood in the merchant circles and used by the traders in their business dealings.⁴³

The islanders grouped themselves around the fresh water wells, which were generally well distributed,⁴⁴ although in certain areas they had to be content with water from the ponds.⁴⁵ The huts were built on stilts⁴⁶ to keep away the rats⁴⁷ and were so unstable that they could be easily demolished.⁴⁸ The only objects they contained were copper utensils in which they prepared their meals⁴⁹ which were based on fish, coconut oil and fruit,⁵⁰ and sometimes enriched with the eggs and flesh of an emaciated poultry.⁵¹ The absence of any cereals forced the islanders to import rice,⁵² of which every foreign ship had to hand over the equivalent of ten *paras*, by way of a tax, as soon as it arrived.⁵³ This requirement

affected the islanders' entire external trade and forced them to make the most of their natural resources in order to attract the rice-producing countries. In addition to their three traditional resources—coconut palm, bonito and cowries,⁵⁴—they also offered ambergris,⁵⁵ the monopoly of which was held by the Male Sultan who punished with death all those who tried to take it from him.⁵⁶ The local craftsmen made what they could out of the resources available: tortoise shells were split into fine blades;⁵⁷ cotton, silk and gilt fabric threads, brought in on ships, were cleverly woven into small pieces of cloth with which it was the fashion to make turbans.⁵⁸ Certain atolls specialized in the manufacture of tunics.⁵⁹ The cotton was delivered by boats from Cambay⁶⁰ and bartered for tortoise shells,⁶¹ dried or smoked bonito⁶² and most of all for rope which the ship builders of Gujarat preferred to all others.⁶³ Each year five or six large Bengali ships came to the islands in search of cowries which were in plentiful supply on the beaches. They were traded for rice and sugar, silk and light cotton, gold and silver.⁶⁴ The junks from Sumatra were loaded with bonito,⁶⁵ those from Java with slaves, in exchange for rice.⁶⁶ The latter probably also carried goods destined for the Chinese customers of Malacca, as did the Cambay ships which occasionally opted to go to the islands rather than Malabar.⁶⁷ It is not known what kind of money the Red Sea seafarers used to pay for the naval equipment and the bonito, but it is possible that they used copper and precious metals as a means of exchange.⁶⁸

From September to May, the Malabar traders added to this high seas traffic by travelling to and from the markets of the archipelago. Their role as middlemen for the producing countries of India, the diversity of the merchandize they offered and the closeness of their home-ports guaranteed them a privileged position. They brought salt, copper jugs and rice⁶⁹ and in exchange received large quantities of coir and roping which they sold in all the Malabar ports and supplied to the Calicut fleet.⁷⁰ They sold ambergris at a profit⁷¹ and stored bonito fillets in their entrepôts for later distribution to the crews of departing ships.⁷²

Trading was more active in the northern atolls of the Maldives⁷³ and particularly in Male, the capital.⁷⁴ Unhealthy and polluted by an overcrowding of graves,⁷⁵ it was nonetheless the only island worthy of such a designation since on it stood the fortress and the royal residence.⁷⁶ The principal function of the Sultan was to collect

the funds to which he was entitled, such as the profit he made from his ambergris monopoly and the tribute, which his subjects paid to him in cowries, the foreign traders in gold and silver.⁷⁷

Valentim Fernandes' informant had found the whole archipelago under the control of one prince.⁷⁸ Had he examined the political situation more closely, its instability would have been apparent. The royal power was in fact constantly being disputed by the descendants of the first Sultans. The absence of a coherent law of succession favoured a regime which was made all the more anarchic by the fact that women were not excluded⁷⁹ and which made it possible for the offspring of each rival branch to make claims to the throne. Although the travellers were able to witness the power enjoyed by the Sultan of the Maldives, they did not realize that the only dynastic law in force was that of the strongest: he who secured for himself the possession of Male became the Sultan.⁸⁰ Moreover, the claimants had to gain the support of external powers and particularly that of the Cannanore⁸¹ merchants who were then beginning to control the archipelago. It is not difficult to imagine the kind of influence which resulted from such greed and the inevitable interest which was shown by some of the claimants in this new Portuguese force. It is through the solicitations of one such claimant that the internal affairs of the islands are brought to light⁸² and make it possible to check the veracity of the autochthonous sources.

The unique but rudimentary inventory of sources compiled by H. C. Bell, makes no mention of any contemporary document; the latest *lomafanu* is dated 1357, the oldest *fatkulu* 1573.⁸³ But there are two chronicles which sum up the islands' history.

The *Ta'riḥ*, the original of which was destroyed in 1752 when the troops of the Aḷi Rāja of Cannanore plundered the palace of Malé, was rewritten in Arabic around 1820.⁸⁴ The *Radavali*, which confirms and completes the first, was discovered by Bell in the same palace in 1922. It exists in three different versions: an ancient manuscript in *tana* characters and two other variations in *dives akuru* and modern *tana*.⁸⁵ It was probably reproduced from an older document, in keeping with the custom of the tropical Indian countries whereby archive documents were copied before they were destroyed by mildew. Despite the errors that such a method implies, the information contained in the *Ta'riḥ* and the *Radavali* makes it possible to retrace the thread of an account without which the Portuguese documents would have been meaningless.

Upon examining that part of the *Ta'rih* dealing with the end of the fifteenth century, the reader is bound to be confused by the unrest revealed therein. In twenty years—from 1491 to 1513—eight Sultans occupied the Male throne;⁸⁶ and if account is taken of the obstinacy of Kalu Muhammad who succeeded in occupying it from 1494 to 1510, that is for fifteen years, it can be calculated that each of the other seven reigns lasted for an average of one year. It is worth pausing to look at the relatively long span of Kalu Muhammad's reign since it was as a result of his intrigues that the Muslim community of Cannanore was able to intervene in the political life of the Maldivé archipelago. He was the descendant of a line of Sultans and succeeded to the throne in 1491.

Nine months later he was removed from office by his cousin Yūsuf—who died after ten weeks—and was then unable to prevent the claimant of a rival branch from seizing the Malé palace and having himself invested under the name of 'Alī. Kalu Muḥammad then appealed to the Muslim chief of Cannanore who successfully secured his reinstatement in H.900/1494.⁸⁷ It is not known what price was paid for this positive assistance, but it may be assumed that the Cannanore merchants then granted themselves the sole rights to the trade in coir and dried bonito which were only to be found in their entrepôts along the Malabar coast.⁸⁸ It seems that the agreement established was respected throughout the fifteen years of Kalu Muḥammad's second reign because the Sultan's authority appears to have been uncontested in the eyes of the foreigners who visited Male at that time.⁸⁹ In reality he was at the mercy of the Muslim chief of Cannanore and the conspiracies of the other claimants.

The fact that the dynastic crisis of 1494 marks an important stage in the seizure by Cannanore of the Maldivé islands does not mean that there were no former influences. According to the *Mūṣakavaṃsa*, the first links of dependence established between the islands and the kingdom of Eli date from the eleventh century.⁹⁰ They probably refer to the Laccadives whose language and socio-religious structures are testimony of long-established relations with the people of Kerala.⁹¹ It is probable that the Kōḷaṭhuṇād's zone of influence, which went beyond the northern archipelago, included the atolls around Minicoy, although such a hypothesis is based on very questionable evidence.⁹² The apocryphal chronology of the *Ta'rih* would have carried the uncertainties of a legendar

history to the end of the sixteenth century⁹³ had not the Portuguese documents once again provided more accurate information about the islands. By revealing the ventures of Mamale, they retrace the steps of the domination that the Muslim chiefs of Cannanore enjoyed over the whole equatorial archipelago.

Notes and References

¹ Spate, *India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, London, 1954, pp. 635–6.

² Between the eighth and ninth parallels.

³ *Lakṣadvīpa*. The Laccadives consist of fourteen atolls, the main ones being: Androth, Chetlat, Keltari, Agathi, Kalpeni, Kadamath, Ameni and Minicoy (or Maliku) (*Census of India*, 1961, vol. 21, map).

⁴ Alternative etymologies have been put forward. According to Caldwell, Male was an abbreviation of 'Malebar'. Yule's interpretation contains more imagery: the southern archipelago takes its name from the Sanskrit *mālā* = collar, or, according to the *Madras Glossary* from the Malayalam *māldvīpa* = black islands, which ties in with the colour of the soil (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 547).

⁵ This is the opinion of A. Gray, in *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard de Laval to the East Indies*, London, 1887–9, WHS n° 76, 77, 80, vol. 1, p. 323, n. 1.

⁶ The word *dib* is derived from the Sanskrit *dvīpa* = island, to which is added the Persian plural suffix *djāt* (according to Ferrand, *Relations de voyage et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du XIIIe au XVIIIe siècles*, 2 vol., Paris, 1913–4, vol. 1, p. 35, n. 5; cf. same work, relations between the islands, pp. 35, 97, 163, 171, 177, 202, 205, 338, 364, 394, 432).

⁷ Island of coir and cowrie (al-Bīrūnī, *Alberuni's India*, ed. Sachau, New Delhi, 1964, p. 210).

⁸ Gray, *ibid*. This practice was copied by the Portuguese, at least during the first few years. D. Manuel wrote 'o arcipeguo das XII mil ilhas' (D. Manuel to D. Francisco de Almeida, sl. 1506, CA, III, p. 276); in 1507 Valentim Fernandes used the pleonasm 'as ilhas de Dyve' to describe them (in H. Fitzler, *Die Maldiven im 16 und 17 jahrhundert*, *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, vol. 10 (1935), p. 249), as did Pires (vol. 2, pp. 362, 363). The expression 'ilhas de Maldio, de Malandiva ou de Maldiva' appears after 1510 but refers to the entire archipelago. Duarte Barbosa was probably the first to distinguish between the islands of 'Palandura'—that is of Divanduru (derived from Androth, in the northern archipelago) and the 'Malandiva'; these two names are reversed however in the text included in Ramusio, which suggests that Barbosa's manuscript was badly compiled by his first publishers (cf. Dames, vol. 2, p. 105, and Gray op. cit., vol. 1, p. 323, and vol. 2, p. 477).

⁹ Al-Bīrūnī, op. cit., p. 210.

¹⁰ Valentim Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 249; Pyrard, I, p. 175.

¹¹ *Ma'bar*; term used by the Arab travellers to describe the Coromandel—quotation from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 111. The Chinese referred to the Maldives as *Liu*, 'islands of currents' (Wang Ta-Yuan in Rockhill, 'Notes on the Relations and Trade of China, *T'oung Pao*', vol. 16 (1915), p. 387). These currents,

which were well known to the sailors, were present between June and September (H. C. P. Bell, *The Maldive Islands, Monograph on the History, Archaeology and Epigraphy*, Colombo, 1940, p. 12) and sometimes turned away the Portuguese ships.

¹² Bell, op. cit., pp. 10–12; Dupuis, *Les Maldives*, loc. cit., p. 6.

¹³ Pyrard, I, p. 172.

¹⁴ Barros, IV/8–4, p. 68. The danger was increased by the low lie of the islands. Valentim Fernandes observed that 'the sea seems to be higher than they are and it is only the palm trees, which grow in great numbers, that prevents the ships from getting lost'. loc. cit., p. 250).

¹⁵ A. Gray, *The Maldive Islands*, London, 1878. Pyrard observed that 'fever is very common there... but is very dangerous if caught by strangers to the islands' (I, p. 307).

¹⁶ Bell, op. cit., pp. 14.

¹⁷ W. Geiger, 'Maldivian Linguistic Studies', *JCBRAS*, vol. 27 (1919), p. 5, emphasizes however that the historical writings of Ceylon make no reference to a surrender by the islands.

¹⁸ At the time when Valentim Fernandes (loc. cit., p. 249) and Pyrard (I, p. 191) were writing this was the common belief.

¹⁹ *Gundra*, or *candura*, the Portuguese form of the Sinhalese *gundura* and the Arabic *kundura* meaning a ship with three masts, a pointed bow and equipped with oars. The *gundras* were described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (vol. 4, p. 121) and by Barbosa (ed. Dames, vol. 2, p. 108) illustrated in Mookerjee, *Indian Shipping*, London, 1912, p. 251, plate 3.

²⁰ V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 254. The belief that the reefs had a magnetic effect meant that no metal was used in the ships (Mookerjee, op. cit. p. 21).

²¹ V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 253. The quality of these ropes held in repute in China (Rockhill, loc. cit. pp. 388–9) was praised by Garcia da Orta (*Colóquios dos simples e drogas da India*, Lisbon, 1891, vol. 1, p. 237) and by G. Correia (I/1, p. 299). The preparation of the coir has been described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 121 and Pyrard, vol. 2, pp. 653–5.

²² In *mahl*, *Kalu bilimas* (W. W. Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford, 1908, p. 490), transcribed by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 'Koulbalmas' (op. cit., vol. 4, p. 112), by Valentim Fernandes 'Camelmas' loc. cit., p. 252), by Correia 'moxama' (I/1, p. 241), by Pyrard 'Cobollimasse' (I, p. 322).

²³ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, vol. 4, pp. 112–13. This exportation is confirmed by Wang Ta-Yuan and Ma Huan in Rockhill, loc. cit., pp. 388–90. The main diet of the seamen consisted of dry bonitos (Correia, I/1, p. 341).

²⁴ The trade of the *cauris* is attested as soon as the ninth century by the author of the *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde* (ed. J. Sauvaget, Paris, 1948, p. 3) and later by Marco Polo (*La Description du Monde*, Paris, 1955, p. 284), Wang Ta-Yuan (Rockhill, loc. cit., p. 388) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (vol. 4, p. 122). On the monetary use of the *cauris*, cf. Godinho, *Economie*, pp. 389–98.

²⁵ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, vol. 4, p. 122; Wang Ta-Yuan in Rockhill, loc. cit., p. 388; Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 104.

²⁶ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa experienced it (vol. 4, p. 125). Such marriages still exist in the Maldives where one can get a wife for two pieces of material, Rs 2 and 8 annas (V. D'Souza, 'A unique custom regarding mahr (dowry) observed by certain

Indian Muslims of South India', *Islamic Culture*, vol. 28/29 (1954-5).

²⁷ Valentim Fernandes dates the Islamicization from the early fourteenth century (loc. cit., p. 249) and Pyrard from the early fifteenth century (I, p. 441). Thorough studies have been made on the subject by A. D. W. Forbes, 'Southern Arabia and the Islamisation of the Central Indian Ocean archipelagoes', *Archipel* 21 (1981) pp. 55-92; 'The mosque in the Maldivé islands, a preliminary historical survey', *Archipel* 26 (1983) pp. 43-74; C. H. B. Reynolds, 'The Mosques in the Maldivé islands: Further notes', *Archipel* 28 (1984) pp. 61-4; J. Carswell, 'Mosques and Tombs in the Maldivé islands', *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, vol. 9 (1976).

²⁸ V. D'Souza, loc. cit., p. 268.

²⁹ Ibn Battūta reported on the superstitions of the Maldivé people (vol. 4, p. 129). So did Barbosa (Dames vol. 2, p. 104) and Pyrard (I, pp. 299-307).

³⁰ Ibn Battūta, vol. 4, pp. 111-35.

³¹ Pyrard, I, p. 171-442.

³² M. Longhena, 'Il testo originale del viaggio di Girolamo Adorno e Girolamo da Santo Stefano', in *Studi italiani di filologia indo-iranica*, 5/5 (1905), pp. 42-4.

³³ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, pp. 103-8. Castanheda's brief description should also be pointed out (IV/35, pp. 437-8); he visited part of the archipelago.

³⁴ Valentim Fernandes, loc. cit., pp. 249-55. A German printer from Moravia, he lived in Lisbon, where he is known to have resided after 1495. The text dealing with the islands to which we refer is taken from a collection of manuscripts covering the discoveries which he compiled in 1507 and which is kept at the Staatbibliothek of Munich (Cod. Hisp. 27 f. 67-85). It has been edited by A. Baião, *O manuscrito Valentim Fernandes*, Lisbon, 1940.

³⁵ The figure of twelve thousand is given by Valentim Fernandes who states that eight thousand of them were inhabited, and by D. Manuel whose letter to D. Francisco de Almeida (s. 1. 1506, CA, III, p. 276) is an indication of the information received upon Lopo Soares' return. In 1497, Girolamo da Santo Stefano estimated that there were about seven or eight thousand (in Longhena, loc. cit., pp. 42, 44).

³⁶ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 104. This passage only makes sense if the meaning of atoll is given to the word island.

³⁷ Ibn Battūta, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 111.

³⁸ Pyrard, I, p. 172.

³⁹ Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Dec. 1520, *Alg. Doc.*, p. 406 sqq. and *As Gavetas*, vol. 4, p. 124 sqq. The word *patana* comes from the Pali *paṭṭaṇam* = port, used here in the sense of atoll (this word is itself taken from the Mahl *atolu*, the Malayalam *adal* and the Sinhalese *etula*), according to *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 40.

⁴⁰ Ibn Battūta, vol. 4, p. 114; Santo Stefano in Longhena, loc. cit., pp. 42, 44; Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 104; Bābā 'Abdullah to D. Manuel, s.l.n.d., TdT, *Cartas orientais* n° 9, published by J. Aubin in *Mare Luso-indicum*, vol. 2 (1973), pp. 203, 209, 211.

⁴¹ Bell, op. cit., pp. 13, 16; Geiger, loc. cit., p. 3.

⁴² Valentim Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 250. Geiger, loc. cit., p. 21 finds similarities between Mahl and twelfth century Sinhalese; G. A. Grierson lists Mahl in the index of *Linguistic Survey of India*, Calcutta, 1903, I/1, p. 478, but does not

undertake a special study of it.

⁴³ V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 250. The linguistic duality of the Maldives is expressed by two different alphabets. Apart from Arabic, the *gabāli tāna* is written from right to left and mixes Persian cursive characters with more archaic Arabic characters. In addition, ancient tombstones have been found bearing inscriptions in *dives akuru* written from left to right (Geiger, loc. cit., o.21; Bell, op. cit. p. 198).

⁴⁴ V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 250.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 117; V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 250.

⁴⁷ Pyrard, I, p. 213.

⁴⁸ V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 250.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.; Pyrard, I, pp. 194–9.

⁵¹ V. Fernandes, loc. cit., pp. 250–5.

⁵² V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 250, reports that a certain amount of milho (sorghum?) was grown which was not sufficient to make up for the total absence of rice all the chroniclers agree with this (Santo Stefano in Longhena, loc. cit., pp. 42, 44; V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 250; Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 104; Bell, op. cit., p. 97). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 122 and Wang Ta-Yuan (in Rockhill, loc. cit., p. 388) state that rice was imported from Bengal and was bartered for cowries.

⁵³ V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 254. According to the same author 1 *para* = 8 *kottei*, i.e. 720 Portuguese *reis* (p. 255).

⁵⁴ As reported by Valentim Fernandes, loc. cit., pp. 253–4, the coconut palm was put to good use—wood for building, food products, rope, alcohol, vinegar, coal etc; the same writer describes the fishing and how smoked bonito was prepared (pp. 252–3); a description of how cowries were prepared is given by Pyrard, I, p. 190.

⁵⁵ The presence on the Maldives of ambergris, a fact ignored by the *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, is mentioned by al-Mas'udi, *Les Prairies d'or*, trad. Barbier de Maynard and Pavet de Courteille, *revue et corrigée par C. Pellat*, Paris, 1962, vol. 1, p. 336. The Chinese paid for it in its weight in silver (Ma Huan/Mills, p. 150) or exchanged it for gold, silk fabric and porcelain-shell (Fei Sin in Rockhill, loc. cit., p. 391). Cf. also Santo Stefano in Longhena, loc. cit., p. 44; Valentim Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 254; Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, pp. 107–8; Castanheda, IV/35, pp. 437–8; Garcia da Orta, *Colóquios dos simples e drogas da Índia*, Lisbon, 1891, pp. 45–58; Pyrard, III, p. 17; Gray's commentary, in *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard de Laval to the East Indies*, London, 1887–9, WHS, first series, n° 76, 77, 80, vol. 1, p. 229 and Godinho's, *Economie*, pp. 600–1.

⁵⁶ V. Fernandes, *ibid.*

⁵⁷ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 107.

⁵⁸ Ma Huan/Mills, p. 150; Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 106; V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 252; Pyrard, I, p. 394.

⁵⁹ The tunics of the islands are already mentioned by the author of the *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde* (ed. J. Sauvaget, Paris, 1948, p. 3) and by al-Idrisi (mentioned by Ferrand, *Relations de voyages*, vol. 1, p. 178). Valentim Fernandes describes the black and white striped cotton tunics worn by the women, loc. cit., p. 250).

⁶⁰ V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 252.

⁶¹ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 107.

⁶² Ibid., p. 106; V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 252.

⁶³ V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 253. In 1525 the Maldivé *bahar* of coir was worth 300 *fadeas* in Cambay, whereas that of Malabar was only worth 180 (Lembrança d'algumas cousas que sam passadas em Malaqua, e assy nas outras partes da India, 1525, in *Subsidios para a historia da India portugueza*, Lisbon, 1868, p. 42).

⁶⁴ V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 254.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 253.

⁶⁶ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, pp. 158–9; Pires, vol. 1, pp. 168–70; Meilink Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630*, The Hague, 1962, pp. 114–15. This slave trade was particularly severe in the atoll of Fua Mulakku where the Parmentier brothers made their landing. They observed 'that they (the inhabitants) seem to have moved their belongings, wives and children inland fearing that they may be taken by force'. (*Le Discours de la navigation de Jean et Raoul Parmentier de Dieppe*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris, 1883, p. 53). Valentim Fernandes reported that certain islanders sold themselves or handed over their children in order to pay their debts, and were freed again once these debts were cleared (loc. cit., pp. 251–2).

⁶⁷ V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 254. These Cambay ships sometimes chose the archipelago route in order to dispose of their products in the Malaccan markets. Their role as intermediaries saved the Chinese in particular the trouble of travelling to the islands as they used to do in the fifteenth century (Ma Huan/Mills, p. 150).

⁶⁸ These were in fact the principal goods requested by the Indian merchants (Godinho, *Economie*, pp. 620–1).

⁶⁹ Correia, I/1, p. 342.

⁷⁰ Barbosa, vol. 2, pp. 105–8; V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 253, estimated that between twelve and fifteen ships were loaded with rope for Malabar and Gujarat every year.

⁷¹ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 108.

⁷² Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, pp. 104–5.

⁷³ Pyrard, I, p. 192.

⁷⁴ V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 250.

⁷⁵ Pyrard, I, p. 207.

⁷⁶ V. Fernandes, loc. cit., pp. 250–1. Bell had made an archaeological and historical study of Male in *The Maldivé Islands*, Colombo, 1950, pp. 87–91, and in *Report of a Visit to Male*, Sessional paper n° 15, Colombo, 1920.

⁷⁷ V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 251. These riches were intended for the royal treasure, of which A. Fernandes also points out the importance (letter to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Dec. 1520 in *As Gavetas*, vol. 4, p. 125). V. Fernandes claims that the name of Male (*Dyve mahal*) means 'treasure island' in Arabic. Bell suggests 'island of the Sultan' (op. cit., p. IV) but does not justify his interpretation.

⁷⁸ V. Fernandes, loc. cit. p. 251.

⁷⁹ The author of the *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde* had found the islands under the rule of a woman (op. cit., p. 3). Ibn Battūṭa was staying in the Maldives during the reign of the sultanness Khadidja (op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 130–1); this is confirmed by a *lomaḡanu* dated the sixteenth year of her reign (H. 758/1356–7) and by

the chronology of the *Ta'rih* (in Bell, op. cit., pp. 5 and 21).

⁸⁰ V. Fernandes, loc. cit., pp. 251.

⁸¹ Barbosa (ed. Dames, vol. 2, p. 104), wrote that the king of the islands was chosen by certain Moor merchants from Cannanore and was replaced as and when they wished.

⁸² *Vide infra*, chap. V, p. 124.

⁸³ Bell, op. cit., pp. 179 and 187. *Lomafanu* are documents inscribed on sheets of copper, *fatkulū* on ola.

⁸⁴ Bell, op. cit., pp. 201–4.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 198–200. Unfortunately Bell has not translated these two texts but has merely provided an analysis of them which we have used. More information is to be found in Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn, *Tārīkh islām Dībā Maḥall*, ed. Hikoichi Yajima, Tokyo, 1982.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 24–5. Kalu Muḥammad (H. 897/1491–2), Yūsuf (H. 897–8/1492–3), 'Alī IV (H. 898–900/1492–5), Kalu Muḥammad (H. 900–15/1494–1510), Ḥasan VII (H. 915–16/1509–11), Šīḥ Aḥmad (H. 916–18/1511–13), 'Alī V (H. 918/1512–13), Kalu Muḥammad (H. 918–35/1513–28).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁸⁸ According to the author of an anonymous account kept at the National Library in Florence, there was more fish in Cannanore than in any other part of India (in A. Teixeira da Mota, *A viagem de Antônio de Saldanha em 1503 e a rota de Vasco da Gama no Atlantico sul*. (Agrupamento de estudos de cartografica antiga, seccão de Lisboa, n° 64 (1971), p. 49).

⁸⁹ Santo Stefano in Longhena, loc. cit., pp. 42 and 44; V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 251.

⁹⁰ *Vide supra*, chap. I, p. 3.

⁹¹ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 104; W. W. Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford, 1908, vol. 16, pp. 86–7. The legendary origin of how they were peopled is connected to the history of 'Chēramān Perumāḷ' several companions of whom settled in the archipelago upon their return from Mecca. The Laccadive inhabitants spoke Malayalam, using Arabic characters when they wrote. They were Mappilas and were divided into four sub-castes.

⁹² For example in the fourteenth century Wang Ta-Yuan had observed that the people of Eli wore their hair short like the inhabitants of the Liu islands and dressed themselves in cottons from the archipelagoes (in Rochhill, loc. cit., p. 454).

⁹³ That is up until the Zaynuḍdīn chronicle (ed. Lopes, p. 169).

III. The Feitoria of Cannanore

The first news from the East that Portuguese ships had reached the Indian shores is to be found among the correspondence recorded in Girolamo Priuli's *Diarii*.¹ The fact that their arrival in Calicut had been known in Cairo must mean that the event had not been underestimated by the Red Sea merchants; but it is probable that, like the peoples of the Christian world, who received it with scepticism, the trading circles of Kerala were unaware of just how important it was. The notes made by Alvaro Velho during his stay in Calicut suggest that the arrival of the small Portuguese squadron aroused no more than a little surprise. They show clearly that the newcomers were disappointed by such a reaction, as indeed they were by the presence of Maghreb Moors who greeted them with a somewhat unabashed familiarity as soon as they landed. These Moors, 'who know and despise us' were the only people who could understand the languages of the Iberian Peninsula.² Did they really, as is shown by the chroniclers,³ warn the Muslim community against the Portuguese? It seems more likely that they wanted to minimize the importance of their venture and ridicule the words of Vasco da Gama. When the latter boasted to the Zamorin of the magnificence of his king, who was 'richer and more powerful than any other', and had so much gold and silver that his only concern was to seek out other Christian kings,⁴ it is probable that the Maghrebins put D. Manuel's fortune and prestige in better perspective. Similarly, they openly mocked the rustic gifts the Portuguese offered to the Zamorin. These presents, which were 'hardly worthy of the poorest merchant of Mecca',⁵ were a timely justification of their warnings. The courteous reception of the Zamorin and the Calicut dignitaries was followed by a more ambiguous attitude which troubled Vasco da Gama and his companions, who could not fail to notice the smiles behind their words and actions during the royal audiences, nor the reluctance to accommodate and entertain them.⁶ To make matters worse their goods were regarded with disdain.⁷ Their hostility towards the Muslims grew from the first contact, a hostility which was fuelled not only by the humiliation they suffered, but also by the attitudes they encountered in their dealings at the local level—the slowness with which all new trade was handled, and the zealous

curiosity of the eastern people which the Portuguese interpreted as greed and malevolence.⁸

Such a climate inevitably led to incidents which were reported from port to port. The Kōḷaṭhupād Muslims had already been put on their guard on 18 May with the passing of the Portuguese squadron off Mount Eli.⁹ Gaspar Correia was the only one to report the presence of the Portuguese off the Cannanore beach and the fact that the Kōḷaṭhiri had been warned too late to send out his observers,¹⁰ although some of his men probably slipped unnoticed among the numerous boats which set out from the coast in the direction of the island of Anjediva, where they arrived in September, to inspect the Portuguese ships which were using it as a port of call before returning home.¹¹

In Lisbon an attempt was being made to counter the first impressions and dispel any misunderstandings. It was important not to present a poor image of Portugal and to refute the allegations, put forward by the Muslims at every opportunity, that the Portuguese were pirates. The second expedition was prepared with the utmost care. On March 1500 a fleet of thirteen ships commanded by Pedro Alvares Cabral and manned by a crew of fifteen hundred took to the sea. On board was all the artillery needed to deal with potential aggressors and the merchandize and gifts worthy of the markets and sovereigns of Malabar.¹² The instructions were clearly set out and the objectives—to establish their position in the spice trade and to develop Christianity in India—both implied the expulsion of the Muslims from the Indian Ocean. But the experience of Vasco da Gama and, more specifically, that of the informants that he had brought back with him, suggested the possibility of exploring other kingdoms, with priority being given to the one known as 'Callenur' or 'Callnur'.¹³ The 1500 expedition was in fact to have long-term consequences: when Pedro Alvares Cabral left the Indian soil the dies were cast, hostilities had opened up in Calicut, an alliance had been established in Cochin and an interest awakened in Kōḷaṭhupād. As Cannanore was the Portuguese armada's last port of call, it is worth looking at the events leading up to its 'discovery'.

On 13 September Pedro Alvares Cabral entered the Calicut waters, all ships dressed and all guns firing. But it was the gifts of jewellery and precious cloth more than this display which ratified his mission.¹⁴ With the presents was a letter, the spiritual statement of which had to be accepted by an Indian sovereign even

though it exalted the pre-eminence of Christianity. D. Manuel invited the king to praise God for having granted them the favour of living at a time in which they could meet and become acquainted with one another. The people of their countries, who had been so distanced from each other from the beginning of time, had lived in this hope, and now it was God's will that it be granted.¹⁵ The temporal objectives of the expedition were more discreetly expressed. As a precaution D. Manuel's letter had been written in Arabic and Portuguese in order to avoid any tendentious translations by the Muslim interpreters.¹⁶ The content did not escape them however and, although it did not include any hostile reference to Islam, it hinted at an alliance which was likely to upset the order of their affairs.

The position hardened when the *feitoria* was installed, despite the dilatory tactics which the Muslims endeavoured to employ. The Portuguese soon distinguished between the 'Mouros da Meca' and the 'Mouros da terra' and recognized in the first their real enemies. The Māppiḷas, who were in a minority in Calicut, considered the introduction of these new clients into the scheme of things as being of some interest as they were believed to have established a position in Africa not far from the sources of gold. The Māppiḷas were anxious to reach an agreement with anyone who could one day compete with the merchants of Mecca. And yet, the attitude of their leader, Koya Pakki,¹⁷ who saw his own destiny as being firmly linked to that of the Portuguese *conquista*, does not seem to have been shared by other members of the Māppiḷa community who retained a cautious approach which was soon to be justified by an incident which united the Portuguese with the Zamorin against one of their people. Most of the records agree that the cargo of a vessel which was sailing towards Cambay belonged to a Māppiḷa merchant from Cochin.¹⁸ It was carrying a fighting elephant which the king of Calicut had been unable to purchase despite the high price he had been prepared to pay for it. When asked to seize it, Pedro Alvares Cabral was more than willing to oblige.¹⁹ D. Manuel later wrote that the *capitão* wanted to build on the still precarious relations and show his gratitude for the favourable treatment the *feitor* was enjoying at that time.²⁰ When the vessel, which was defended by a group of archers, was off Calicut, only a small caravel commanded by Pero de Ataíde (nicknamed Hell) was sent out to intercept it. A chase ensued

which ended in the port of Cannanore where the Cochin ship took refuge for the night²¹ and received immediate protection from a flotilla of *paraos* which had sailed out from the nearby shore.²² It surrendered the following morning, after a battle conducted before the crowd assembled on the beach, and was dragged out to the open sea in the tow of the small *caravel* which then returned to Calicut.²³ It is probable that Pero de Átaide's performance impressed the Cannanore authorities, who saw the power of the Zamorin strengthened by an alliance with the Portuguese pirates.

This incident did not disarm the Calicut merchants who were more concerned about the favour that the newcomers finally seemed to be enjoying, although, since only two Portuguese ships had been loaded with goods in three months, it was probably superficial in nature. It is difficult to judge the terms of the negotiations which were entered into at that time because of the linguistic difficulties which forced the Portuguese emissaries to make use of interpreters. The messages exchanged with the Zamorin were translated twice, from Portuguese to Arabic and then from Arabic to Malayalam, and the information provided by the Malabar people brought back to Portugal by Vasco da Gama was of little use since they all belonged to low castes and had not had access to the royal palace.²⁴ How certain was it, therefore, that the king of Calicut had given his interlocutors an absolute guarantee that their ships would be loaded first, before those from the Red Sea? What is clear is that the Portuguese understood this to be the case and that their impatience forced the Muslims to fill up their own holds secretly. It is impossible to determine the extent to which the misunderstandings, deceit and instances of rash behaviour incited Cabral to seize a boat of spices and the population of Calicut to have recourse to violence. On 16 December the *feitória* was attacked, the *feitor*, Aires Correia, and forty other Portuguese massacred while fleeing to their ships. By way of reprisal the port was put 'a fogo e sangue' and the armada, which was lined up along the shore, bombarded the town for a whole day.²⁵

Like Zaynuddīn²⁶ and his followers, the Portuguese chroniclers emulously dramatized this tragic episode, although all they conveyed was a feeling of reciprocal resentment in the face of an incident which was to be the pretext for bitterness and demands for decades to come. The use of artillery certainly had an intimidating effect,

particularly since the people of Malabar were not used to aggression of this type; but it did not prevent those frustrated by the hegemony of Calicut from rejoicing. While Cochin welcomed Pedro Alvares Cabral with open arms, Kollam and Cannanore sent emissaries who returned bearing promises of visits in the near future. The offers from Cannanore were reiterated when the armada passed by the port before taking to the high seas.²⁷ On 15 January Cabral entered the port to complete his cargo. He was immediately greeted by a royal official and surrounded by a flotilla of boats so loaded with cinnamon 'that we did not know where to put it'.²⁸ The merchants of Bruges and Antwerp who received it later found it coarse,²⁹ and its mediocre quality may explain the keenness with which it was offered. Was it a local cinnamon or what remained from the Ceylon harvest of the previous year?³⁰ The Kōḷaṭhiri announced that because of the losses suffered by the Portuguese in Calicut the payment of four hundred *quintais* already loaded onto their ships could be delayed until the arrival of the next armada.³¹ Cabral insisted on paying in cash, however, making a point of showing the king's envoy his gold-filled coffers. He requested permission to take an ambassador back to Lisbon and later that same day set sail on the return journey in the company of a Gentile 'gentleman'.³²

The eagerness with which these negotiations were conducted was surprising, particularly in view of the incidents which during the preceding weeks had marked the first contacts between the Portuguese and the Cannanore kingdom. Neither the attack on a friendly vessel within the harbour, nor the pillage of two ships loaded with rice,³³ were considered serious enough to prevent the Cannanore authorities from seeking the friendship of the Portuguese, and the reasons for their insistence are open to speculation. The Kōḷaṭhiri's explanation came in the form of an assurance to D. Manuel that he had only offered such warm hospitality to the Portuguese in order to correct the unfortunate impression they had formed of Calicut and to show the world that the kings of Malabar were not all sovereigns without honour.³⁴ According to Gaspar Correia the approaches of the Kōḷaṭhiri had been inspired by the predictions of his soothsayers. Jealous of the pressure exerted on the king by the Muslims, they had recalled an ancient prophecy according to which the people of Malabar would one day have to submit to white men from the sea. When the Chinese

had visited the ports along the coast the people of Cannanore had believed that the prediction had come true. This reference to the expeditions of Zheng-He gives some plausibility to Gaspar Correia's account.³⁵

By recognizing the Portuguese as the heroes of the prophecy, the Valarpattanam omens had therefore given the Kōlāthiri arguments which nobody had dared to challenge. It is equally probable that the Kōlāthiri's initiative had been motivated by a twofold desire: to reach an agreement with a potential enemy and to counter-balance the increasing influence of the Cannanore Muslims with a rival power. The fact that he had sent an ambassador to Portugal was a demonstration of his intention to establish a political alliance; he would not have taken the same trouble had he merely wished to conclude a cinnamon deal with passing merchants. The Māppīlas themselves did not stand in the way of the first negotiations; perhaps, like the Cochin merchants before them, they saw a chance to benefit from the eclipse of Calicut by trying to compete with the Red Sea merchants and the possibility of turning the efficiency of the Portuguese fleet to their own profit.

With the arrival of each monsoon, the Portuguese braved the perilous crossings to load their ships with Indian spices. At the end of the summer of 1501 four more ships arrived at the port of Cannanore. Without waiting for Pedro Alvares Cabral's return, D. Manuel had despatched this small squadron under the command of João da Nova. It was made up of two ships belonging to the king and two other vessels. One was financed by D. Alvaro, the uncle of the Duke of Bragança and the other was sponsored by the Florentine financier Bartolemeo Marchionni. D. Manuel was thus sanctioning an association which had been in existence for several years³⁶ and which was going to enable foreign businessmen to take part in eastern trade. The *regimento* given to the captain had been based on the already out-of-date reports of Vasco da Gama who had left India two years before it was written. Because of the time taken up with the long crossings, the squadron captains would in the future have to deal with unforeseen situations and find solutions which were not covered by the instructions received. There is no trace of those written for João da Nova; they seem to have disappeared with all the other documents relating to the expedition.³⁷ However, it is safe to assume that he did not expect to discover a message from Pero de Ataíde hidden in a shoe in a

bay along the African coast.³⁸ This is how he came to know of the events which had taken place in Calicut, and which were shortly afterwards confirmed by a letter from Cabral and given to him by a *degredado* who had been left in Quiloa.

João da Nova dropped anchor at Cannanore, having earlier seized two Muslim vessels which had been cruising in the region of Mount Eli.³⁹ The Cannanore authorities made every effort to persuade the Portuguese to take their entire cargo from their port and not to go to Cochin.⁴⁰ Using the excuse that he could not abandon the agents of the small *feitoria* posted there by Cabral, João da Nova left Cannanore after four days, having ordered the cinnamon and ginger he would be taking back with him.⁴¹ His return there was hastened by the embarrassing situation he found in Cochin. The king could not forgive Cabral for having taken his hostages,⁴² and the pepper merchants, had refused the Portuguese products because they were only prepared to accept cash.⁴³ As the flagship's coffers were empty of gold, João da Nova was happy to return to Cannanore and accept the spices for which the Kōḷaṭhiri granted him credit. In exchange it was agreed that a *feitor* be installed there to dispose of the unsold goods.⁴⁴

Meanwhile, the Calicut fleet, which had been unsuccessful in combat against Cabral, was determined to exterminate João da Nova's small squadron, and assembled around Cannanore where the four Portuguese ships, supported by their artillery, managed to dismiss it. This was the second success off Cannanore, but the first naval victory achieved by the Portuguese.⁴⁵ It had come just in time to enhance their prestige; the booties from this battle and other random seizures meant that the ships returned to Lisbon 'tam carregadas de vitoria como de especearia'.⁴⁶ Even though the Venetian Girolamo Priuli, emphasized that the returning cargoes included only a few spices.⁴⁷ However, they were sufficient to confirm the resolution of the Portuguese to exploit the Indian market.

It was with this objective in mind that those left in Cannanore set about their task: two casual labourers and a *degredado* who were under the management of Paio Rodrigues, D. Alvaro's *feitor*, and the Italian *feitor* of Bartolomeo Marchionni.⁴⁸ The Kōḷaṭhiri allowed them to live outside the town on the rocky headland which overlooked the port and upon which stood a few fishermen's huts which had been evacuated by order of the king. The

coconut palms were cut down and their wood and palms used to build a hamlet which was fortified by a palisade encompassing the full width of the headland. It was lined on the inside by an embankment of debris, which was made into a rampart-walk, and on the outside by a ditch which separated the rocks from the land. Set into the enclosure was a grilled gate which was locked at night. This arrangement was approved by the Kōlāthiri who was pleased that his guests had settled a reasonable distance from the native population. Nobody was authorized to go to the headland for any reason other than to take provisions or to trade goods. Six Nāyars guarded the area surrounding the rocks and were at the *feitor's* disposal.⁴⁹

Meanwhile in Lisbon the exploitation of the maritime route to India was being questioned. João de Barros reported the disagreements which, following Cabral's return, were becoming evident among the members of the royal entourage. Some were in favour of pursuing the discoveries, others were more concerned about the recklessness of the undertaking, the hostility of the Muslims and the risks involved in dealing with an unknown terrain. D. Manuel favoured the former view because of his loyalty to the ideal of his dynasty but also because the profits accruing from Cabral's expedition were significant enough to allay any doubts.⁵⁰ For a long time his resolve had found expression in his titles: to that of 'senhor de Guiné' he had added 'senhor da navegação, conquista e comercio da Etiópia, Arabia, Persia e India'.⁵¹ The fulfilment of this plan was entrusted to Vasco da Gama who was sent to Malabar a second time bearing the title of Admiral.⁵² He took with him a fleet of twenty ships divided into three squadrons, one of which was to stay in India under the command of Vicente Sodré, the maternal uncle of the expedition leader.

The Admiral reached Anjediva on 18 August 1502,⁵³ well supplied with gold from the tributes negotiated in eastern Africa.⁵⁴ On 28 August the fleet set sail and took up position at the foot of Mount Eli so that the crew could rest⁵⁵ and the ships undergo repairs.⁵⁶ This site had been chosen because of the ease with which provisions could be obtained from the neighbouring ports and water and wood from the mountain. Mount Eli was the best observation post along the coast from which to site vessels returning from the Red Sea. Vasco da Gama, who had not forgotten the humiliation suffered in Calicut, had resolved to avenge the murder of Aires

Correia and his companions and to demand reparation for the pillage of the *feitoria*. The fleet was ordered to spare only the ships from Cannanore. The sight of the Portuguese forces deployed along the shore inevitably alarmed the Kōḷāṭhiri.⁵⁷ Not until 29 September did news come of a major casualty, the *Meri*, which was returning to Calicut with a cargo of mercury, opium, copper, pieces of velvet and Muslim currency to the value of six thousand ducats. On board were two hundred crew and numerous pilgrims returning from Mecca. It was stopped and, after three days of combat and negotiations, plundered.⁵⁸ The booty was taken for the king of Portugal,⁵⁹ the *Meri* set on fire. As for the passengers they were either burned to death or drowned, with the exception of about twenty children who were spared and immediately baptized before being sent to Portugal to join the young monks of Nossa Senhora de Belem.⁶⁰

The Renaissance period offers other examples of merciless reprisals which were generally approved of by the contemporary writers, although Tomé Lopes, who had witnessed them for himself, was clearly shocked by them.⁶¹ His horror was shared, there is no doubt, by the Muslim populations of Māṭayi and Cannanore who had seen the Mecca pilgrims executed in their waters and their young co-religionists baptized. The Kōḷāṭhiri, who had put himself out neither for Cabral nor for João da Nova,⁶² was eager to invite the Admiral to meet him at the port of Cannanore. His concern was confirmed by the report of the ambassador whom Cabral had taken with him to Portugal and who had returned with Gama's squadron: while in Lisbon this ambassador had met the envoy from the Republic of Venice who had warned him against the Portuguese and had advised him to rely on the power of Venice rather than on those who were only able to finance their expeditions with the gold of foreigners and conquer by force that which they were unable to obtain through the art of negotiation.⁶³ The presence in Cannanore of an agent of Marchionni the Florentine and the recent visit of the Venetian Benvenuto d'Abano,⁶⁴ must have given an element of plausibility to his comments.

Having rejected the peace offers proposed by a Calicut envoy, and having despatched a survivor from the *Meri* to the Zamorin bearing a threatening letter, Vasco da Gama prepared himself for an official visit to the Kōḷāṭhiri. A pavilion draped in coloured cotton, was built at the end of a wooden jetty which jutted out into

the waters of the port as far as the magnificently dressed flagship. Escorted by his parasol bearers and two elephants, the Kōḷaṭhiri was carried to the shore in a litter, accompanied by several hundred Nāyars wearing red shields. The meeting was heralded by trumpets, cymbals and Portuguese gun-fire.⁶⁵ Discussions began after the exchange of gifts, but the sovereign, playing on his advanced years and weak health, soon evaded the difficulties of a discourse. Using as an excuse the discomfort of the heat and his inability to deal with commercial matters he retired, ensuring his interlocutor that he would recommend him to the Muslim merchants who were in control of the spice trade.⁶⁶ None of the texts mentions who in fact attended the meeting held the following day.⁶⁷ Was Mamale among them? Although the presence of someone to whom no written reference is made until 1507 cannot be proved, it can be assumed that one of his family was present—the Muslim community chief—who was already managing the affairs of the Maldives. These merchants began by presenting the Portuguese with a fact which they had difficulty in grasping: the Kōḷaṭhiri was not, like D. Manuel, a sovereign who involved himself in trade. He was content to collect the taxes, but was unable to intervene in an area that was not his responsibility or to fix the price of other people's goods. The Muslim chiefs were in sole charge of the spice trade. They made the strength of their position quite clear by adopting a harder attitude than that of the king. They tried to impose higher prices than those enjoyed up to that time by the agents of the *feitoria* and apologized for slighting the Portuguese merchandize which they were finding it difficult to sell. Upon hearing this the Admiral became angry and sent the negotiators away.⁶⁸ He was solicited again but, exasperated by the delaying tactics which he suspected would last until his departure, decided to precipitate matters. He sent word to the Kōḷaṭhiri that he was not fooled by his casual manner and that it was obvious to him that peace with Portugal was of no great concern to the king since he had used its worst enemies to act as delegates—'these Muslims who fostered a secular hatred towards Christians'. He went on to say that he would only deal with the sovereign and that he had made up his mind to send back, the very next day, the few bags of spices already taken on board with as much shell fire. Paio Rodrigues, who was alarmed by this message, went on board the flagship and offered to act as mediator. The Admiral instructed him not to go back on shore

since relations had been broken off with the king. Paio Rodrigues refused to abandon the interests of his master, D. Alvaro, and succeeded in obtaining a letter in which Vasco da Gama placed under the Kōḷaṭhiri's protection the Christians of the *feitoria*, threatening to make 'those pagans' pay for the slightest act of violence perpetrated against their person or their honour.⁶⁹

Some days later Paio Rodrigues was able, by skilful means, to send a message of peace from the Kōḷaṭhiri to the Portuguese fleet which was sailing to Calicut. Part of Vicente Sodré's squadron had been left in the waters of Cannanore to protect the *feitoria*, but the Kōḷaṭhiri showed no wish to intensify the misunderstandings. For his part the Zamorin sent emissaries bearing peace offers to meet the armada which stopped off Calicut. The Admiral immediately demanded reparation for the damage caused to Aires Correia's *feitoria* and as a reply was not forthcoming quickly enough, he sacked the port and bombarded the city, hanging about thirty Muslims in his shipyards.⁷⁰ If João de Barros is to be believed, he was hesitant about sacking the town as he did not want to antagonize the Zamorin.⁷¹ But the hostility of the Muslims in Cochin, where he landed at the beginning of November, caused renewed difficulties. The discussions to settle the prices for the pepper and spices were adjourned several times. The differences could only be resolved by the mediation of the king who personally went on board the flagship to show how much he valued the friendship of the Portuguese. This display of confidence meant that the negotiations could be continued and an agreement was reached the clauses of which remained undisputed for some time.⁷²

Meanwhile the Zamorin had sent his Brahmins to try and unite the principal rājas of Malabar against the Portuguese. He recommended to those who did not have sufficient forces to keep negotiations going as long as possible and not to give in on the spice prices, the purpose being to keep the Portuguese in India and to leave them stranded by the monsoon. Their ships would then be forced to come closer to the coast and the lighter boats would have to take shelter in the rivers where it would be easy to set fire to them.⁷³ But the Zamorin's arguments were not strong enough to prevent the king of Cochin from siding with the Portuguese. The Kōḷaṭhiri, not content with having ensured Paio Rodrigues of his good intentions, despatched an ambassador to Cochin,⁷⁴ he earnestly requested the Admiral to send him three ships without delay and he would

have them loaded with goods at the prices fixed in Cochin. As the Italian merchants travelling on Marchionni's ships had refused to sail for the little pepper to be found in Cannanore and for the mediocre quality of a 'triste sorte di canella', Gama sent three of the king's ships there with the intention of joining them later.⁷⁵ The Zamorin attempted a final negotiation by sending a Brahmin on board the flagship. This envoy was shortly afterwards convicted of treason and because the texts are somewhat contradictory on this point it is not known whether the body found later hanging at the end of the shipyard was that of the Brahmin's son or the Brahmin himself.⁷⁶ This punishment, undoubtedly regarded all along the coast as an ignominious sacrilege, did not stop the Portuguese from winning the struggle and from gaining in Cannanore the satisfaction which had been refused to them on their first visit. The Cochin agreements had weakened resistance there: the prices were fixed and the *feitoria* reinforced.⁷⁷ Gonçalo Gil Barbosa, who had been in Cochin since 1501, was invested as *feitor* of Cannanore with Bastião Alvares and Diogo Godinho as his secretaries.⁷⁸ He was accompanied by his nephew, Duarte Barbosa, who spoke Malayalam⁷⁹ and had the assistance of some twenty men, among them Francisco Correia and João de Avila whom Castanheda claimed to have met.⁸⁰ The *feitor*'s duty was to buy and store ginger, pepper and cloves, indigo and medicinal plants. He also had to purchase rope and naval equipment as well as rice, dried fish, sugar, nuts and coco oil⁸¹ so that he could supply the armadas which would from now on be using Cannanore as their first and last port of call in India. The payments made to the *feitor*'s Indian assistants were fixed,⁸² the fragile rampart at the headland was rebuilt in stone and part of the artillery was taken off the ships and set into the new wall. The gate had to be locked at night and the key entrusted to the king's functionaries. Full instructions were given on how to warn of fires which the malevolent attitude of the Muslims had turned into a major threat.⁸³

Vasco da Gama left Cannanore on 22 February,⁸⁴ leaving Vicente Sodré's small squadron with the double task of defending the *feitorias* against acts of aggression and stopping vessels from the Red Sea entering Calicut. Gaspar Correia reports that Sodré had already distinguished himself in the Cannanore waters through acts of pillage on the Muslim ships and had adopted the role of the Kōlāthiri's justiciary by mutilating a rich Cairo merchant who

had neglected to pay his taxes.⁸⁵ Such a resolute attitude would have discouraged the Zamorin from taking action had Vicente Sodré not pushed his taste for adventure to the point of abandoning the coast he was supposed to be guarding and engaging in privateering off the Red Sea. However, he must have known of the rumours which were circulating in the ports of Malabar and which had not escaped Matteo da Bergamo's receptive ears. On 30 March 1503, while off Mozambique,⁸⁶ the latter wrote that the Zamorin was preparing to destroy the Cochin kingdom before his influence over it was lost. These suspicions were soon to be confirmed by events. As soon as Vicente Sodré had departed the Zamorin began to put pressure on the king of Cochin to hand over the forty Portuguese men who had settled on his land, but the king refused, saying he would prefer to forfeit his throne rather than break the laws of hospitality. This gesture, which in the eyes of D. Manuel's entourage demonstrated the most noble precepts of chivalry, inevitably added a note of esteem to the common interests which had until now united Cochin to Portugal. Crushed by the Zamorin's troops and abandoned by most of his vassals, the sovereign was forced to take refuge with his proteges on the island of Vaipin where they awaited the arrival of the next armada.⁸⁷ The perseverance with which the Portuguese tackled the perilous crossing each year was the surest guarantee of their presence in India. The certainty of seeing their ships appearing with the next monsoon clearly affected the determination of the king of Cochin and the attitude of neutrality observed by the Cannanore authorities. The latter's caution was also motivated by one of the clauses negotiated by the Admiral and according to which the Kōḷaṭhiri had undertaken to stay on good terms with the king of Cochin and not to risk any hostile activities which could be interpreted as acts of war against Portugal.⁸⁸

Towards the end of August 1503 two squadrons were to be seen in the region of the island of Anjediva heading towards Cannanore. The first, commanded by Pero de Ataíde, consisted of four ships from Vicente Sodré's armada: ignoring the advice of the inhabitants of the Curia and Muria islands, the latter had been caught up in storms which had engulfed his ship and that of his brother Brás.⁸⁹ The second had come directly from Lisbon and consisted of only two boats which were captained by Francisco de Albuquerque and Nicolau Coelho. Two documents from Cannanore, dated 28 and 30 August, reveal that Francisco de Albuquerque, having

taken on fresh supplies,⁹⁰ had given help to the shipwreck survivors and ordered Goncalo Gil Barbosa to provide tar for the repair of their ships.⁹¹ It was important to assemble all the available forces as quickly as possible in order to avenge the king of Cochin of whose downfall they had just learned. This was the unforeseen event which upset the order of the *regimento* in which it had been stipulated that the construction of a fortress should be negotiated with the king of Cochin. The success of this particular mission was helped by circumstances which enabled Francisco de Albuquerque to succeed in restoring the kingdom of Cochin by some lightning raids. He was aided in this by the arrival of three ships commanded by his cousin Afonso de Albuquerque who, having left Lisbon first but having been delayed by bad weather, did not drop anchor until 16 September.⁹² Despite the continual quarrels that divided the Albuquerquees, the fortress was built in a few weeks. During this time attention had to be given to the needs of the small Portuguese community as it was no longer receiving its rations from Cochin which was now in ruins. The Cannanore *feitoria* was able to offer assistance and on 29 September, as documented in the archives, Nicolau Coelho was despatched to Cannanore to load the *Santa Maria de Fayal* with rice and dried fish for the members of Francisco's crew who were dying of hunger, exhausted after their work building the fortress. However, he did not receive the provisions until 9 October,⁹³ whereas the *feitor* of the *Rainha Nova*, who had travelled with him, received several thousand *reis* from Goncalo Gil Barbosa.⁹⁴ The advantage of the Cannanore *feitoria*'s dated *conhecimentos* is now made clear. It was the *feitoria*'s duty, as purveyor, to record the movement of all ships: the truce negotiated between Francisco de Albuquerque and the Zamorin can thus be pinpointed. Whereas a letter from Lourenco Moreno, dated 9 January 1504, announced that Pero de Ataide had gone on ahead to Lisbon bearing the declaration of peace,⁹⁵ a *conhecimento*, dated 23 December 1503 and signed in Cannanore by the very same captain, who was collecting supplies for his return journey,⁹⁶ confirms that hostilities must have been suspended some days before this date. On 25 December they began to smoulder again⁹⁷ and recommenced in January in the backwaters of Cochin.⁹⁸

Afonso de Albuquerque, who had just conducted a reconnaissance in Kollam where he had left Ant3nio de S3 to act as *feitor*, joined his cousin in the Calicut waters at the end of December.

Together they sailed to Cannanore where their passage has been recorded. On 26 January Afonso de Albuquerque asked Goncalo Gil for a pilot and took on board masts, sails and provisions for the return journey.⁹⁹ Francisco began his preparations for departure on the same day. The vouchers available give some indication as to the provisions supplied by the *feitoria*: rice and dried fish, medicinal drugs and naval equipment. These documents, dated 26 and 31 January 1504, were the last he signed before he was lost at sea.¹⁰⁰

The attention of the Portuguese chroniclers was turned away from Cannanore by the importance of the events taking place in Cochin in the months following the Albuquerque's departure.¹⁰¹ Listing the combats which were reported by Alvaro Vaz¹⁰² and which later gave rise to so much epic literature is of little relevance here. Suffice it to say that the forces brought together by the Zamorin to launch a second attack on the kingdom of Cochin were held in check by the enterprising strategy of Duarte Pacheco Pereira and the tenacity of some two hundred men. The spies of the Cannanore authorities must have given particulars of the fights which were centred around the fords of the Cochin lagoon. It is said that the Portuguese settled in Cannanore were subjected to gestures of hostility and threats of death.¹⁰³ The Kōḷaṭhiri allowed a contingent of archers and Muslim arquebusiers to leave Cannanore and Dharmapaṭam to go and reinforce the Zamorin's¹⁰⁴ army, but he was careful not to take up a stance. He had to think of the future and take into account the obstinacy of those for whom neither disorientation nor poverty were causes for despair. The decisive battles had been fought before the monsoon. The foreign traders were fleeing Calicut and at the end of June the Zamorin had retired to a sanctuary.¹⁰⁵ It is not known whether this was voluntary or one which had been motivated by the rivalry which was making itself felt within his own family. The Indian maxim, according to which 'princes are like crabs and eat their parents'¹⁰⁶ is a perfect illustration of the instability of the rāja's position; his sovereignty could be challenged by the members of his family who had been known to pass sentences of abdication or death.¹⁰⁷ It will be seen later how Afonso de Albuquerque was able to make such customs work in his favour; but it is evident that after 1504 Duarte Pacheco's victories went further than the defence of Cochin. The Zamorin's misfortune was a reminder to the other

Kerala kings of the price which had to be paid for military setbacks. The time was right to turn away from conflict. The Calicut allies returned to their lands and focused their attention on their religious duties and the preparations for the *onam* which was celebrated with great rejoicing during the last days of August,¹⁰⁸ in other words at the very moment when the Portuguese ships were appearing in the Eli waters.

Unaware of Duarte Pacheco's success, D. Manuel had despatched a prestigious armada, made up of captains chosen from among the greatest names in Portugal. In early September 1504 thirteen vessels dropped anchor outside Cannanore.¹⁰⁹ The *capitão-mor*, Lopo Soares, immediately invited Gonçalo Gil Barbosa on board his ship and then requested an audience with the Kōḷaṭhiri. The following day he disembarked in a great flourish, surrounded by the dressed fleet. His barge was detached from the flagship along with a skiff on which an organ had been placed, the sound of which was soon followed by trumpet playing and artillery fire. In full apparel, Lopo Soares entered the *cerame* which had been set up on the beach, and presided over the presentation of gifts, among which was a European-style bed, with mattresses and curtains—D. Manuel's gift to the Kōḷaṭhiri. The latter arrived shortly afterwards, preceded by elephants and escorted by more than a thousand Nāyar lancers and archers. The chroniclers give lengthy descriptions of this splendid prelude but do not deal with the subsequent talks.¹¹⁰ The areas of discussion Lopo Soares is likely to have proposed are mentioned in the undated instructions which are identifiable as those of the *regimento* prepared for the *capitão mor*. Thus, having expressed the king of Portugal's gratitude to the Kōḷaṭhiri for his loyalty, he had to give him a letter, the content of which remains a mystery. However, the main purpose of the meeting was probably to remind the Kōḷaṭhiri that the agreements and prices fixed by the Admiral were not to be disputed.¹¹¹

Hardly had the talks finished when Calicut began sending messages of peace. The royal family took advantage of the Zamorin's retreat to suggest the new *captain* resume the discussions.¹¹² Lopo Soares left Cannanore on 7 September¹¹³ and went to negotiate on the spot. The Calicut princes consented to the compensation requested and agreed to return the Portuguese prisoners; but the discussions were soon curtailed because of their refusal to hand over two Italian artillery smelters who had deserted the

messages of peace. The royal family took advantage of the Zamorin's retreat to suggest the new captain resume the discussions.¹¹²

Portuguese army during the first invasion of Cochin,¹¹⁴ and whose technical expertise was of value. As a result of this breach Lopo Soares bombarded the town. After a month of respite spent in Cochin supervising the cargoes and organizing his captains' missions,¹¹⁵ he attacked Cranganore which the king of Cochin had always coveted. The Zamorin had reinforced the city defences and had deployed a strong squadron of armed *paraos*. Lopo Soares succeeded in putting them to flight and began to burn Cranganore which was only saved by the pleas of some Christian inhabitants and by the prince of Cochin who wanted to spare any potential taxpayers.¹¹⁶ Having dealt with the war fleet the *capitão mor* attacked the merchant ships: after a violent struggle he burned about fifteen vessels loaded with goods which were preparing to set sail for the Red Sea. The chroniclers do not agree on the exact location of this fire: Castanheda, Góis and the author of the *Crónica* place it in Pantalāyini Kollam,¹¹⁷ Barros in Ponnāni¹¹⁸ and Correia in Dharmapaṭam.¹¹⁹

Among the documents signed in Cannanore by Lopo Soares is a *mandado* dated 5 January in which he states that he set the ships on fire in 'Capocate' (Kappatt), near Calicut.¹²⁰ He recommended to his *feitor* that nothing should be spared those who had been wounded in this battle whom he was leaving in his capable hands. This document not only throws light on the battle site, it also places on record the origin of the Cannanore hospital.¹²¹

Other documents from the archives refer to this brief visit to Cannanore which must have ended on 6 January. Among the usual seizures of provisions and medicinal drugs¹²² the earliest trace of a ginger cargo is uncovered: three hundred and sixty *quintais* for the *Leitoa Nova*,¹²³ three hundred and sixteen for the *Ferros*,¹²⁴ one hundred and eight for the *Batecabello*,¹²⁵ one hundred and sixty-seven for the *Sant' Esprito*,¹²⁶ all provided by the *feitoria*.

The security of the Cochin kingdom seems to have been assured by the significant damage inflicted at Calicut, and yet Lopo Soares did not leave Cannanore without feeling some concern.¹²⁷ Gonçalo Gil Barbosa had made it clear to him that the Muslims had not lost any of their pride. Each day the Portuguese of the *feitoria* had to endure their threatening contempt. In spite of the assurances given by the Kōḷaṭhiri, who had left his residence to bid farewell to the *capitão-mor*,¹²⁸ they knew they could not count on his help. They were under no illusions about this friendship even though it

had been one of the first to be offered spontaneously. The kingdom of Cannanore was the seat of the most influential community of 'Mouros da terra' in Malabar, a community which was determined to defend at all costs the control it had acquired over the royal power.

Notes and References

¹ G. Priuli, 'Diarii', ed. R. Cessi, *Raccolta degli storici italiani*, Bologna 1937, vol. 24/3-2, p. 153.

² A. Baião, D. Peres, and A. de Magalhães Basto, ed., *Diário da viagem de Vasco da Gama*, Porto, 1945, pp. 36-7, 58.

³ Castanheda, I/19, pp. 50-1; Barros, I/3-9, pp. 161-5.

⁴ *Diário*, op. cit., pp. 43-4.

⁵ These presents consisted of twelve pieces of striped cloth, twelve coats with hoods, six hats, four coral twigs, six basins, one box of sugar, two barrels of oil and honey (*Diário*, pp. 45-7).

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 55, 58, 59.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-6, 54.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-6.

⁹ *Diário*, p. 35; according to Castanheda the Portuguese ships coasted a 'high lying land' on 17 May (I/13, p. 33).

¹⁰ Correia, I/1, pp. 68-9. This author adds that in November 1498 Vasco da Gama visited the port of Cannanore and was received by the king with whom he signed an agreement on gilt leaf (I/1, pp. 114-19). Correia's account of this first journey contains many inaccuracies and has been severely criticized by F. Hummerich, 'Estudo crítico sobre o roteiro da primeira viagem de Vasco da Gama' (1497-9) in *Diário da viagem*, vol. 2, p. 427 sqq. (translated from the German *Studien zum roteiro der Entdeckungsfahrt Vasco da Gama 1497-9*, in *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. 10, pp. 53-302). A letter from the Kōlāthiri to D. Manuel (Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507) states that Pedro Alvares Cabral was the first to reach Cannanore (CA, II, p. 400).

¹¹ *Diário*, pp. 68-71.

¹² *Libro terzo de la navegatione de Lisbona a Calichut*, in *Paesi ritrovati*, chaps. 172 and 174 (this anonymous account—the name which will be used for this document—has been translated into English by Greenlee, *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India*, London, 1937, WHS 2nd. series, n° 81, pp. 53-94, and into Portuguese by J. Cortesão, *A expedição de Pedro Alvares Cabral*, Lisbon, 1922, pp. 260-97). Cf. also Castanheda, I/30, pp. 71-2 and I/35 pp. 80-1; Barros, I/5-1, pp. 180-2; Góis, I/54, pp. 126-8.

¹³ 'Instruções a Pedro Alvares Cabral quando foi por capitão mor de uma armada a India (1500)', in *Alg. Doc.*, pp. 101-2; *poder* assigned to Cabral to establish peace with the kings of India, TdT, CVR, n° 178.

¹⁴ Anonymous account, in *Paesi ritrovati*, chaps. 173 and 174; Castanheda, I/35, pp. 80-1; Barros, I/5-4, p. 192; Góis, I/58, pp. 142-3.

¹⁵ D. Manuel to the king of Calicut, Lisbon, 1 March 1500, CA, III, pp. 85–8.

¹⁶ In Arabic, according to Barros, I/5–5, p. 195, in Arabic and Portuguese and written by Duarte Galvão according to Castanheda, I/35, p. 78.

¹⁷ Anonymous account in *Paesi ritrovati*, chap. 174; Castanheda, I/36, pp. 81–3; Barros, I/5–5, 6, pp. 197–200; as a young man Góis had met Koya Pakki in Lisbon (I/58, p. 143).

¹⁸ This vessel came from Cochín, according to the *Crónica* and Góis, I/58, p. 143. According to Castanheda, I/37, p. 83, it belonged to Pate Marakkar of Cochín, and according to Barros, I/5–6, p. 199 it belonged to Mamale and Cherian Marakkar.

¹⁹ Anonymous account in *Paesi ritrovati*, chap. 174; *Crónica*, p. 21; Castanheda, I/37, pp. 83–5; Barros, I/5–6, pp. 200–2; Góis, I/58, p. 144.

²⁰ Carta del-Rey D. Manuel de Portugal a los Reys Catolicos, de Santarem, 29 July 1501 in Navarrete, *Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos*, Madrid, 1825–37, vol. 3, pp. 94–101; published by J. Cortesão, *A expedição, de Pedro Alvares Cabral*, Lisbon, 1922, p. 319.

²¹ Anonymous account in *Paesi ritrovati*, chap. 174; *Crónica*, p. 22; Castanheda, I/37, pp. 84–5; Barros, I/5–6, p. 202; Góis, I/58, p. 144.

²² *Crónica*, p. 22.

²³ Anonymous account in *Paesi ritrovati*, chap. 174; *Crónica*, p. 22; Castanheda, I/37, p. 85; Barros, I/5–6, p. 202; Góis, I/58, p. 144.

²⁴ Anonymous account in *Paesi ritrovati*, chap. 172.

²⁵ Anonymous account in *Paesi ritrovati*, chap. 177; Castanheda, I/38–9, pp. 85–9; Barros, I/5–7, pp. 145–7. According to the *Crónica*, the bombardment of Calicut lasted three days (pp. 23–4).

²⁶ Zaynuddīn deals with the bombardment fairly briefly (ed. Lopes, p. 36), but his indignation with the Portuguese is released between pages 44 and 47.

²⁷ Anonymous account in *Paesi ritrovati*, chap. 178; *Crónica*, p. 25; Castanheda I/40–1, pp. 89–90; Barros, I/5–8, pp. 207–13; Góis, I/60, p. 149.

²⁸ Anonymous account in *Paesi ritrovati*, chap. 179.

²⁹ G. Priuli, *Diarii*, p. 175.

³⁰ According to Garcia da Orta, Ceylon cinnamon more than one year old is coarse. (*Colóquios dos simples e drogas e cousas medicinais da India*, Lisbon, 1963, vol. 1, p. 214.)

³¹ Anonymous account in *Paesi ritrovati*, chap. 179; Castanheda, I/41, p. 91. According to a letter from the Kōlāthiri, Cabral had taken on board 50 *babars* of cinammon for which he had 'rightly' paid.

³² Anonymous account in *Paesi ritrovati*, chap. 179; Castanheda I/41, pp. 91–2; Barros, I/5–9, pp. 213–14, Góis I/60, pp. 150. Correia (I/1, pp. 167–8) agrees here with the author of the *Crónica* that the first *feitoria* was established in Cannanore by Cabral—a fact which is negated by the silence of the *anonymous account* and the chronicles, and particularly by the Kōlāthiri according to whom the first *feitoria* was established in João da Nova's time, that is between 1501 and 1502 (The Kōlāthiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Nov. 1507, CA, II, p. 400).

³³ *Crónica*, p. 24; Castanheda, I/40, p. 89. These two ships, which were seized off Pantalāyini-Kollam probably came from the Kōlāthunād ports which supplied Calicut with rice. The Calicut-Pantalāyini-Kollam-Cochin itinerary is confirmed by the letter from D. Manuel to the Catholic kings, loc. cit., in J. Cortesão, op. cit.,

p. 322. But Barros places this seizure off Cranganor, I/5-8, p. 206.

³⁴ The Kōlathiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, p. 400; Barros, I/5-9, p. 213.

³⁵ Correia, I/1, p. 69.

³⁶ At least since the reign of D. João II, according to Jaime Cortesão, *A expedição de Pedro Álvares Cabral*, Lisbon, 1922, p. 117. Bartolomeo Marchionni had been a banker of the Medicis. The latter had tried to interfere in the affairs of Alexandria, but the loss of the Tyrrhenian Sea ports meant that the Levant route had been closed to them. The fall of the Medicis (1494) and the confusion which accompanied it strengthened the interest of the Florentine businessmen in Portuguese ventures. For information on their involvement in the first voyages of discovery, see Canestrini, *Intorno alle relazioni commerciali de' Fiorentini co' Portoghesi avanti e dopo la scoperta del capo di Buona Speranza* (Archivio Storico Italiano, series I, vol. 3, appendix pp. 93-110); Peragallo, *Cenni intorno alla colonia italiana in Portogallo nei secoli XIV, XV e XVI*, Genova, 1907; J. Cortesão, op. cit., pp. 117-43; V. Rau, *Uma família de mercadores italianos em Portugal no sec. XV*, os Lomellini, in *Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa*, vol. 22, 2nd series/2, (1956); Verlinden, *La colonie italienne de Lisbonne et le développement de l'économie métropolitaine et coloniale portugaise*, in *Studi in onore di Armando Saporiti*, Milano, 1957, vol., pp. 615-28; Godinho, *Economie*, pp. 677-9.

³⁷ To our knowledge no document has survived the expedition of 1501. The name of João da Nova is mentioned for the first time the following year by Matteo da Bergamo (Peragallo, *Viaggi di Matteo da Bergamo in India sulla flotta di Vasco da Gama* (1502-3) in *Studi bibliografici e biografici sulla storia della geografia in Italia*, Roma, 1875, p. 115). By making reference to the 'tempo do feitor de Dom Alvaro que veio na frota de João da Nova' (CA, VII, p. 87), a mandado from J. de Melo (20 June, 1513) lends positive support to the chroniclers' statements. Cf. G. Bouchon, *A propos de l'inscription de Colombo (1501). Quelques observations sur le premier voyage de João da Nova dans l'Océan Indien*, Coimbra, 1980.

³⁸ Castanheda, I/43, p. 93; Barros, I/5-10, p. 217; Góis, I/63, p. 155. *Degredado* = man convicted by common law who agrees to carry out dangerous missions by way of punishment.

³⁹ *Crónica*, p. 27; Barros, I/5-10, p. 218; Correia, I/1, pp. 246-9.

⁴⁰ The custom was that no ship entering one port could then go and collect goods from another (according to Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., p. 103).

⁴¹ Castanheda, I/43, p. 94; Barros, I/5-10, pp. 218-19.

⁴² For information on this incident, cf. G. Bouchon, 'Les Musulmans du Kerala à l'époque de la découverte portugaise', *MLI*, vol. 2 (1973), pp. 13, 14.

⁴³ Castanheda, I/43, p. 94; Correia, I/1, p. 252; Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. 4, pp. 664-5.

⁴⁴ Castanheda, I/43, pp. 95-6; Barros, I/5-10, pp. 220-1; The *Crónica* makes no reference to this feitoria (p. 28). For a financial evaluation of this expedition, see Godinho, *Economie*, pp. 564-5 and 631.

⁴⁵ *Crónica*, pp. 27-8; Castanheda, I/43, p. 95; Barros, I/5-10, p. 220; Correia, I/1, p. 256. According to D. de Góis, the battle took place in the waters of Cannanore, but João da Nova did not call there a second time (I/63, p. 157).

⁴⁶ Barros, I/5-10, p. 221.

⁴⁷ Priuli, op. cit., pp. 242-3; in 1501 he was already writing; 'Pocho per hora

importava la quantitate delle spetie, ma la importantia hera il viazo trovato e il trafeço che ogni anno se trazeavam o piui quantitate di spetie' (ibid., p. 171).

⁴⁸ The figure of five men given by Barros (I/5–10, p. 220) was probably exceeded, because he adds (p. 221) that when he called there the second time João da Nova strengthened his team at the Kōlāthiri's request. Castanheda gives no details, and according to Correia, Rui de Mendanha was captain and not Paio Rodrigues (I/1, p. 257). A Franciscan was probably attached to these men for the purpose of celebrating mass and performing the sacraments. According to G. Correia, the Brothers were given accommodation and a chapel dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Conceição (I/1, p. 168).

⁴⁹ All these details are given by G. Correia, I/1, pp. 168, 169, 183, 258.

⁵⁰ Barros, I/6–1, pp. 223–6.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 227. D. Manuel had been using these titles since 1499 (cf. the second letter from Girolamo Senigi to a Florentine gentleman (1499) in Ravenstein, *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama*, London, 1898, p. 141) which is confirmed by Sanuto (*Diarii*, vol. 3, p. 862, dated 13 July 1500).

⁵² João da Barros (I/6–2, p. 232) must be right on this point and not Castanheda (I/48, p. 103) and Correia (I/1, p. 339) who both state that the title of Admiral was conferred on Vasco da Gama upon his return to Lisbon. The documents drawn up in Cannanore in February 1503 were signed by his hand 'ho almirante dom V^o' (Mandados, Cannanore, 21 and 22 Feb. 1503, TdT, CC II-7–1, 19–20). A. Braamcamp Freire has established that Vasco da Gama had been admiral since 10 January 1500 ('O Almirantado da Índia'. Data da sua criação, in *Arquivo Historico Portuguez*, vol. 1 (1903), pp. 25–32).

⁵³ For a description of this expedition, we have used the accounts given by some of the people involved in it in addition to those found in the chronicles: Tomé Lopes (in Ramusio, f. 143 b–156 a), Matteo da Bergamo (in Peragallo, loc. cit.) and the more laconic text of the Flemish author of *Calcoen, a Dutch Narrative of the Second Voyage of Vasco da Gama to Calicut, printed in Antwerp circa 1504*, ed. J. P. Berjeau, London, 1874.

⁵⁴ Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., pp. 99–100; Castanheda, I/44, p. 96; Barros I/6–2, p. 234 and I/6–3, pp. 235–6; Góis I/68, p. 164.

⁵⁵ Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., p. 101.

⁵⁶ According to Correia, the Portuguese purchased a mast in Māṭāyi (I/1, p. 291).

⁵⁷ Barros, I/6–3, p. 237.

⁵⁸ Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., p. 101; T. Lopes, f. 147 a–148 a; Castanheda, I/45, pp. 97–8; Barros I/6–3, pp. 237–9; Correia, I/1, pp. 292–7; Góis, I/68, pp. 164–5; *Gónica*, p. 31.

⁵⁹ Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., p. 101.

⁶⁰ Matteo da Bergamo, ibid: chronicles, ibid.

⁶¹ T. Lopes, f. 148 a.

⁶² Only Gaspar Correia speaks of an official reception during which Pedro Álvares Cabral was received by the Kōlāthiri (I/1, pp. 169–83). This interview is mentioned neither by the author of the *anonymous account* nor by any other chronicler.

⁶³ *Crónica*, p. 29; Barros, I/6–2, pp. 233–4, adds that the Venetian diplomats had made the Indians believe that Venice had financed Gama's expedition.

According to the *Crónica*, the ambassadors of Cochin and Cannanore both died during the journey; this is contradicted by T. Lopes who states that the Cannanore ambassador was present when they arrived at Mount Eli (f. 147 b).

⁶⁴ *Vide supra*, chap. I, n. 169.

⁶⁵ Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., p. 102; T. Lopes, f. 148 a; *Calcoen* dated 20 October; Castanheda, I/45, p. 98; Barros, I/6-4, pp. 239-40; Correia, I/1, pp. 294-7; *Crónica*, pp. 31-2.

⁶⁶ T. Lopes, f. 148 b; Barros I/6-4, p. 240. The *Crónica* simply concludes that the two interlocutors could not agree.

⁶⁷ Two 'Heathens' and two Muslims according to Barros, I/6-4, p. 241; only Muslims according to T. Lopes, f. 148 b. Castanheda (I/45, p. 98) did not guess any misunderstanding, and Correia claims that an agreement was signed without difficulty between the Admiral and the merchants who were accompanied by the king (I/1, pp. 297-8).

⁶⁸ T. Lopes, f. 148 b; Barros, I/6-4, p. 241.

⁶⁹ T. Lopes, f. 148 b; Barros, I/6-4, p. 242.

⁷⁰ T. Lopes, f. 150 a; Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., p. 104; Castanheda, I/45, pp. 97-9; Barros, I/6-5, pp. 242-5; Góis I/68, p. 165; *Crónica*, pp. 32-3.

⁷¹ Barros, I/65, p. 245.

⁷² A letter from Gaspar Pereira, written in Cochin in January 1506 (CA, II, p. 368) echoes the grievances of Cherian and Mamale Marakkar who maintained that in 1502 Vasco and Estevão da Gama, Pero de Aguiar and Vicente Sodré had asked them for twenty-five *bahars* of cinnamon and had paid nothing for it.

Matteo da Bergamq (loc. cit., pp. 117-18) gives details of the prices fixed in Cochin. Cf. also the *Crónica*; Castanheda, I/46, p. 99; Barros, I/6-6, p. 248, and G. Bouchon, *Glimpses of the beginnings of the Carreira da India in Indo-Portuguese History. Old issues, New Questions*, New Delhi, 1985, pp. 40-55.

⁷³ The *Crónica* (p. 37) and Castanheda (I/47, p. 101) reveal some of the correspondence exchanged between the Zamorin and the king of Cochin, but do not disclose their sources. Cf. also Barros, I/6-6, p. 247.

⁷⁴ According to Barros, the Kōlāthiri had agreed to respect the prices fixed in Cochin during Paio Rodrigues' final negotiations (I/6-6, p. 242) and may even have agreed to pay his merchants to make up for their losses (I/6-6, p. 246).

⁷⁵ Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., p. 105.

⁷⁶ The Brahmin's son and a Nāyar, according to Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., p. 121; the Brahmin's son, according to the *Crónica*; the Brahmin, according to Castanheda, I/46, p. 100; the son, the nephew of the Brahmin and a Nāyar, according to Barros, I/6-7, p. 254; the Brahmin, his son and his nephew, according to Góis, I/69, p. 167.

⁷⁷ Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., pp. 119-20. In Cannanore the price of pepper was fixed at 210 *fanam* per *bahar*, plus 2 *fanam* of duty per *bahar* (in Cochin the price was 150.5 *fanam* per *bahar*, plus 9 *fanam* of duty, but it should be remembered that at that time one Cochin *bahar* was worth 3 *quintais* and 22 *arrateis* whereas the Cannanore *bahar* was worth 4 *quintais*). These figures are confirmed by the *Lyvro dos Pesos da Imdia* of António Nunes (in *Subsídios para a historia da India portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1868) with a few minor differences (pp. 33 and 34). Other Cannanore prices are given here by Matteo da Bergamo: indigo—50 *fanam* per *farazola*; 'mirobolans'—7 *fanam* per *farazola*; ginger—55 *fanam* per *bahar*,

plus 6 *fanam* of duty per *bahar*.

⁷⁸ Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., p. 124; Castanheda, I/48, p. 102; Barros I/6-7, p. 254; Góis, I/69, pp. 168-9.

⁷⁹ 'Aprendeo tanto a lingoa dos Malabares que a fallava melhor que os proprios da terra' (Correia, I/1, p. 335). G. Schurhammer distinguishes between this character and his two homonyms, one of whom was a pilot, the other Magellan's companion (Doppelgänger in Portugiesisch—Asien, in *Aufsätze sur portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte*, I (1960), re-edited in *Gesammelte Studien II, Orientalia*, Rome 1963, *Bibliotheca Instituti Historici* S. I., vol. 21, pp. 121-213). Duarte Barbosa was assisted for eight months by Balthazar, son of Gaspar da India, who could speak several languages and offered his services to the Cannanore *feitoria* on 5 Feb. 1503 after he had been baptized (Gaspar to D. Manuel, s.l.n.d. (1505), CA, III, p. 202).

⁸⁰ Castanheda, I/48, p. 102. The archive documents contradict the chronicler's words here. In fact, a João de Avila was secretary at the Cannanore *feitoria*, where his presence was confirmed in 1510 and 1511 (mandados, Cannanore, 22 Sept. 1510, CA, IV, p. 306; 16 Oct. 1510, CA, IV, p. 320; 1 Dec. 1510, CA, VI, p. 402; 10 Dec. 1510, CA, VI, p. 405; 24 April. 1511, CA, V, pp. 168-9; two letters to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, pp. 321-6): but he had already been dead for several months in January 1513 (Duarte Barbosa to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 12 Jan. 1513, CA, III, pp. 50-1). As Castanheda did not arrive in India until 1528, it must be assumed that another person of the same name—relative or god-child of the former secretary—was then employed at the fortress.

⁸¹ Correia, I/1, p. 299.

⁸² Each of the ten *Nāyars* who kept watch and carried messages received 50 *fanam* per month, the secretary who had to transcribe the commercial transactions onto *ola* received 10 *fanam*. The *Nātuvāri*, who was in control of the ginger, received ten cubits of red velvet for every cargo. Correia, I/1, pp. 298-9.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

⁸⁴ Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., p. 120; Tome Lopes (f. 154 b); these dates agree with those appearing on the documents signed in Cannanore by the Admiral, Obrigação, Cannanore 22 Feb. 1503, TdT, CC II-7-20. The dates of 12 February 1503 and 28 December 1503, given by the author of *Calcoen*, Castanheda (I/48, p. 103) and Góis (I/69, p. 169) respectively, are clearly erroneous.

⁸⁵ Correia, I/1, pp. 306-8. This same author devotes several pages to Sodré's stay in Cannanore at the beginning of 1503 (*ibid.*), pp. 345-9.

⁸⁶ Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., p. 123.

⁸⁷ Diogo Fernandes Correia to Afonso de Albuquerque, Cochín, 25 Dec. 1503, CA, III, p. 211; Castanheda, I/49-53, pp. 103-13; Barros, I/7-1, pp. 257-60; Góis, I/73, pp. 174-7.

⁸⁸ Castanheda, I/48, p. 102; Góis, I/69, p. 168.

⁸⁹ For information concerning the death of Vicente Sodré, cf. Castanheda I/54, pp. 114-15; Barros, I/7-2, pp. 262-3; Góis, I/74, pp. 178-9.

⁹⁰ Rice for the *São Miguel*, Cannanore, 28 Aug. 1503, TdT, CC II-77-159.

⁹¹ Tar for the *São Paulo* and two caravels, Cannanore, 30 Aug. 1503, TdT, CC II-7-163.

⁹² Castanheda, I/55-8, pp. 115-21; Barros, I/7-2, pp. 261-6; Góis, I/77-8, pp. 181-6. The date is given by a *protesto*, Cochín, 16 Sept. 1503, TdT, CC II-7-165.

⁹³ Mandado, Cochin, 29 Sept. 1503, TdT, CC II-7-168; recibo, Cannanore, 9 Oct. 1503, TdT, *ibid.*

⁹⁴ Exactly 189 *reis*, recibo, Cannanore, 9 Oct. 1503, TdT CC II-7-169.

⁹⁵ Lourenço Moreno to D. Manuel, Cochin, 9 Jan. 1504, CA. II, p. 259.

⁹⁶ Conhecimento, Cannanore, 23 Dec. 1503, TdT, CC II-7-199.

⁹⁷ Diogo Fernandes Correia to Afonso de Albuquerque, Cochin, 25 Dec. 1503, CA. III, pp. 211-12.

⁹⁸ Lourenço Moreno to D. Manuel, Cochin, 9 Jan. 1504, CA. II, pp. 259-61.

⁹⁹ Mandado, Cannanore, 26 Jan. 1504, CA. II, p. 49. The departure date was 27 January according to Giovanni da Empoli (in Ramusio, p. 159).

¹⁰⁰ Medicinal drugs for Mestre Diogo, the armada doctor, conhecimento, Cannanore, 28 Jan. 1504, TdT, CC II-44-115; provisions for the *São Miguel*, mandado, Cannanore, 29 Jan. 1504, TdT, CC II-8-16; fish, rice, naval equipment, lamp oil, mandado, Cannanore, 26 Jan. 1504, TdT, CC II-8-17: thirty thousand *reis* for Francisco de Albuquerque's *feitor*, mandado, Cannanore, 31 Jan. 1504, CC II-8-17.

¹⁰¹ *Crónica*, pp. 71-113; Castanheda, I/65-85, pp. 135-83; Barros, I/7-5 to 8, pp. 275-88; Góis, I/85-92, pp. 197-221, Correia, I/1, pp. 418-89.

¹⁰² Alvaro Vaz to D. Manuel, Cochin, 24 Dec. 1504, CA. III, pp. 256-67.

¹⁰³ Castanheda, I/91, p. 193.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, I/81, p. 171.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, I/86, pp. 183-4.

¹⁰⁶ K. P. Kangle, *The Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, Bombay, 1960-5, vol. 2, p. 44, p. 17/1.

¹⁰⁷ Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, New York, 1954, pp. 92-3. In Kerala, abdication was normally followed by the king's suicide.

¹⁰⁸ The Onam festival is the biggest in Kerala, cf. Padmanabha Menon, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 286-306.

¹⁰⁹ Castanheda, I/90, pp. 191-3; Barros, I/7-9, pp. 289-90; Góis, I/96, p. 231; G. Bouchon, 'Le premier voyage de Lopo Soares en Inde (1504-1505)', *MLI*, vol. 3 (1979), p.

¹¹⁰ *Crónica*, p. 132; Castanheda, I/91, pp. 193-4; Correia, I/2, p. 496.

¹¹¹ Undated document, CA. III, p. 191. As stressed by V. Magalhães Godinho, the conditions set by Vasco da Gama were subject to various modifications (*Economie*, p. 632). If Simão Botelho is to be believed (*Tombo do Estado da Índia, 1554*, pp. 28-9 in *Subsídios para a história da Índia portuguesa*, ed. R. J. de Lima Felner, Lisbon, 1868), Lopo Soares asked for and obtained permission to build a fortress. The matter was probably raised, but it seems that no firm agreement was given before D. Francisco de Almeida's intervention (*Vide infra*, chap. IV, pp. 77-8).

¹¹² Castanheda, I/91, p. 194; Barros, I/7-9, pp. 290-1; Góis, I/96, pp. 232-3.

¹¹³ According to the chronicles, Lopo Soares arrived in Calicut on 7 September (Castanheda, I/91, p. 194; Barros, I/7-9, p. 290; Góis, I/96, p. 233); this is backed up by two archive documents signed in Cannanore by Lopo Soares on the same date (Mandados, Cannanore, Sept. 1504, TdT, CC II-9-3 and CC II-9-4).

¹¹⁴ Castanheda, I/91, p. 195; Barros, I/7-9, p. 291; Góis, I/96, p. 233. Ludovico di Varthema had consorted with these two characters who were assassinate in 1506 (Varthema/Schefer, pp. 255-8 and 271-2). V. Magalhães Godinho suspects them of having been agents from Venice (*Economie*, pp. 733-4).

¹¹⁵ Among the Cannanore papers there is evidence of Pero de Mendoca's mission which was mentioned by Castanheda (I/92, p. 196): rice and fish for the *Leitoa Nova*, mandado, Cannanore, 13 Oct. 1504, TdT, CC II-9-11).

¹¹⁶ Castanheda, I/94, pp. 197-8; Barros, I/7-10, pp. 292-5; Góis, I/97, pp. 235-6.

¹¹⁷ *Crónica*, p. 132; Castanheda, I/96, pp. 199-201; Góis, I/99, p. 241.

¹¹⁸ Barros, I/7-11, pp. 295-8.

¹¹⁹ Correia, I/2, p. 510.

¹²⁰ '...na peleja que ouve em Capocate jumto de Callectut em que queymey as naos...' Mandado, Cannanore, 5 Jan. 1505, TdT, CC II-9-38.

¹²¹ For information on the Cannanore hospital, cf. A. da Silva-Rego, *História das missões do padroado portugues do Oriente, India*, I (1500-42), Lisbon, 1949, pp. 332-5.

¹²² Medicinal drugs for the *Sant' Espírito*, conhecimento, Cannanore, 4 Jan. 1505, TdT, CC II-9-33; wood for the masts of the *Leitoa Nova*, mandado, Cannanore, 5 Jan. 1505, TdT, CC II-9-35; fish for the *Cirné*, mandado, Cannanore, 5 Jan. 1505, TdT, CC II-9-36; fabric for the *Cirné*, mandado, Cannanore, 5 Jan. 1505, TdT, CC II-9-24.

¹²³ Conhecimento, Cannanore, 6 Jan. 1505, TdT, CC II-9-40.

¹²⁴ Conhecimento, Cannanore, 5 Jan. 1505, TdT, CC II-9-37.

¹²⁵ Conhecimento, Cannanore, 4 Jan. 1505, TdT, CC II-9-32. For the period 1503-5, V. Magalhães Godinho has drawn up a schedule of the Cannanore feitoria's activities, *Economie*, p. 626.

¹²⁶ Conhecimento, Cannanore, 5 Jan. 1505, TdT CC II-9-33. These documents are published in G. Bouchon, 'L'inventaire de la cargaison de 1505', in *MLI*, vol. 3 (1976), pp. 101-6.

¹²⁷ Cast. I/97, p. 201.

¹²⁸ Barros, I/7-11, p. 298.

IV. The Fortress and the First Conflicts

Even though its contribution to the Portuguese expansion was significant, Afonso de Albuquerque's first assignment in India had been overshadowed by his subsequent ventures and has therefore not received the attention it merits. The restoration of the Cochin kingdom was the joint achievement of Afonso de Albuquerque and his cousin, although it was the former alone who briefed and advised King D. Manuel upon his return to Portugal. It is probable that the political genius of which he was later to prove himself on so many occasions contributed in influencing the decisions taken by the king during the winter of 1504-5.

The Albuquerque's victorious raids had stiffened opposition to the Portuguese. Just as the Zamorin was preparing to launch his troops on Cochin for the second time, news were reaching Venice that this military offensive had been reinforced by a diplomatic move.¹ The various plots devised by Mameluk Egypt and Venice since 1501 had found in Kerala the collaboration of the Muslim communities.² The events of autumn 1503 had cemented the alliance of those who saw their interests threatened by a Portuguese intervention, a development which was supported by the Zamorin of Calicut and the Sultan of Egypt who had been provoked into action by the meagre spice cargoes of 1504.³ While the Zamorin was employing all his forces to destroy the Portuguese on his own territory, a Spanish Franciscan from Jerusalem was sent by the Sultan to plead with Pope Julius II for his intervention by calling on the sovereigns of the Iberian Peninsula to put an end to the continual acts of aggression against Islam.⁴ This request was accompanied by threats against the eastern Christians and their freedom of access to the Holy Land. D. Manuel was ready with his reply: the Sultan's protests would be worthless because he would not be able to manage without the substantial taxes he collected from the pilgrims to the Holy Land or those accruing from the spice trade which the Portuguese would be intent on destroying. When Brother Mauro reached Lisbon, in June 1505, he had to accept that his mission was a failure.⁵ Three months

earlier a squadron of twenty ships had set sail, commanded by D. Francisco de Almeida, the first Viceroy of India, whose task it was to secure control of the Indian Ocean for the Portuguese forces by the permanent presence of a fleet and by the construction of fortresses.⁶

The *regimento* contained numerous instructions concerning Cochin and Kollam. It made little reference to Cannanore,⁷ and yet it was in Cannanore that the first problems occurred. As soon as the armada had arrived in Anjediva on 13 September,⁸ one of Gonçalo Gil Barbosa's messengers informed D. Francisco that the ambassador of Vijayanagar was waiting for him in Cannanore. Some days later this news was confirmed by Pero Leitão who gave the Viceroy an account of the visit he had just made to that empire in the company of his uncle, Brother Luís. Had this person been secretly ordered to make contact with the Rāya and initiate him in the Christian faith? Or had he simply replied to an invitation extended by the sovereign? Whatever the circumstances, it is evident that the interest of the Rāya had been awakened sufficiently to send an official delegation to the Viceroy. To Pero Leitão's regret, D. Francisco seemed to attach little importance to this news.⁹ He drew his attention to the terms of his *regimento*, which made the construction of the Anjediva fortress a priority and left him free to deal with 'Narsinga' when he judged it to be appropriate.¹⁰ The other motives of this apparent indifference are questionable. Was D. Francisco anxious to placate the Kollam princes whose permission he would be seeking for the construction of a fortress and who would probably react badly to the fact that he had had a prior meeting with their enemy?¹¹ There were so many aspects to be investigated that the Viceroy had probably not yet assessed the power of Vijayanagar or the strength of the common interests linking it with Cannanore. It is likely that D. Francisco's informants encouraged him to recognize the advantages of an alliance which would consolidate the position of the Portuguese in this town. Gonçalo Gil Barbosa, for one, made sure to recall the attempts which had been made on his life as he wanted to convince the Viceroy of the need to build a fortress for which he had secretly prepared the foundations.¹² Furthermore, the Muslim merchants had challenged the spice prices and were asking two hundred and fifty *reis* more than the agreed figure for one *quintal* of pepper.¹³

On 21 October D. Francisco decided to devote himself to the affairs of Cannanore rather than go directly to Cochin as recommended by the *regimento*.¹⁴ The delay had to be compensated by great speed. One is amazed at the Viceroy's activities during the five days he spent in Cannanore. On the day following his arrival, he entertained the Vijayanagar delegates on board his flagship with all the appropriate honours.¹⁵ There is no record of the discussions which took place as they were kept secret. This very much annoyed Pero Fernandes Tinoco who was on an official mission to the Rāya but was being kept at arm's length by D. Francisco deliberately.¹⁶

Once Vijayanagar's affairs had been dealt with, the Viceroy met the Kōḷathiri who granted him permission to build a military edifice for which purpose he offered materials and labour.¹⁷ The construction of the fortress was commenced the same day: *fidalgos* and subalterns worked together to build the surrounding wall in five days.¹⁸ There is little information about what the original building looked like; it may have had the triangular design that can be seen today.¹⁹ Gaspar da India was probably exaggerating in considering it to be stronger than the Rhodes fortress,²⁰ but it is certain that at least part of it was built in stone, because Pero Fernandes Tinoco complained to the king for having to 'carretar a pedra pera a fortaleza' instead of fulfilling his ambassadorial duties in Vijayanagar.²¹

On 27 October, D. Francisco departed for Cochin, having left behind him in Cannanore two hundred and fifty armed men and two caravels to defend the fortress to which he gave the name *Sant' Angelo* because, like the Castle of Rome, it stood beside the water.²² Lourenço de Brito, the great cup-bearer of the king, was appointed captain, assisted by an *alcaide-mor*, the Castilian Guadalajarra.²³ Gonçalo Gil Barbosa was replaced at the *feitoria* by Lopo Cabreira and returned to Portugal in the command of a ship.²⁴

The Muslim merchants looked on in dismay as the fortress grew. How would they now be able to explain the destination of the rice cargoes they would be collecting in the Canara ports and supplying to Calicut, and which would no longer escape the control of the Portuguese?²⁵ The traders had been assured that they would receive safe conducts signed by the fortress captain provided they did not carry spices to the Red Sea or Ormuz,²⁶

a condition which threatened the relations established with the Persian Gulf and was potentially damaging to the horse trade. As if to confirm their concern, the Portuguese fleet had just seized a ship which was transporting horses to Honāvar, an incident which was followed by acts of violence.²⁷ Other events were soon to bring the dissatisfaction of the merchant community to a head.

As soon as he arrived in Cochin, at the beginning of November, D. Francisco learnt of the assassination of the Kollam *feitor*, António da Sá, who had been attacked by Muslim merchants and burnt along with his twelve companions in the chapel where he had sought refuge. This attack provoked instant reprisals. Under the command of the Viceroy's son, D. Lourenço de Almeida, most of the fleet lined up off Kollam. D. Lourenço then sent word that all those ships whose home port had an alliance with Portugal were free to sail out to sea. But the Muslim crews preferred to face combat. They formed a chain with their boats—sterns to land—to confront the attack, but were unable to prevent them from being shelled or set on fire.²⁸ Twenty-seven²⁹ of their vessels went up in flames, six of them large Cannanore ships loaded with elephants and valuable merchandize.³⁰ The blaze was so great that it lasted all night and it is said that the Portuguese crews dined by the light of the inferno.³¹

When they knew the extent of the damage they had suffered, the Cannanore Muslims caused a riot. The more eager among them set off to attack the fortress which was relieved by the Kōḷaṭhiri's forces. But the latter was to go on being troubled by the merchants' protests.³² In December a new incident erupted which, surprisingly, is not mentioned in any of the chronicles.

From the reports written from Cochin at the beginning of 1506 and the correspondence addressed by the Kōḷaṭhiri to D. Manuel, the details of a crisis emerge which was to foreshadow future conflicts. The causes for it are set out in an undated letter, written in Arabic and kept in the oriental department of the Torre do Tombo. The Kōḷaṭhiri complained to D. Manuel about the seizure of a ship load of horses from Ormuz which the Portuguese forces had re-routed to Cochin. He expressed in vehement terms his concern at seeing the safety of a trade which had been prosperous for a long time threatened by such a precedent. It had caused him to lose sleep and his appetite and meant that he had sacrificed the friendship of the neighbouring countries in favour of a sworn

allegiance to D. Manuel; he could not conceal the shame that this incident had brought upon him and called upon João da Nova, who had seen what had happened, to bear witness to it.³³

On 6 December 1507 the king's nephew and successor recounted the same facts, adding that the owner of the seized ship had been sailing without a safe conduct.³⁴ From his letter in which all this was recorded, it is clear that the earlier mentioned missive must have been written before 1507. A report written by Gaspar Pereira gives more precise information and reveals what occurred. On 26 December 1505 Gaspar Pereira recorded the arrival in Cochin of the *Frol de la Mar*, captained by João da Nava who had accompanied D. Lourenço to Cannanore. He brought with him news of the troubles which had erupted around the Cannanore fortress, the construction of which had just been completed. The Kōḷaṭhiri had not judged it necessary to transfer the *feitoria* there, with the result that it had been attacked and pillaged and the *feitor* and his scribes threatened with death. They were saved by the intervention of the king, and more specifically that of the Nāṭuvāri who had always given them his support.³⁵ He belonged to the royal family³⁶ and had played down the differences which had set him against the Kōḷaṭhiri so that he could stay in Cannanore and protect the Portuguese.³⁷ Lourenço de Brito's resolution had been strengthened by these assurances, especially since they were soon backed up by more positive help, as revealed by Pero Fernandes Tinoco. In his account of the incidents of December 1505, he wrote that the Nāṭuvāri had received a letter from the king of Vijayanagar who had been informed of the bad treatment to which the Portuguese at the *feitoria* had been subjected. The Rāya threatened to exterminate the Islamic community if such harassment continued, adding that it was only because Cannanore stabled some of his horses that he had until now refrained from destroying it. The excessive tone of this missive, which was also directed at the Kōḷaṭhiri, had the effect of calming the riots. The Muslims laid down their arms and the Nāṭuvāri found renewed favour with the king.³⁸ Thus ended a crisis which was serious enough to have been considered by Afonso de Albuquerque to be the first siege of the Cannanore fortress.³⁹

The events proved Pero Fernandes Tinoco right; he had continually condemned the Viceroy for neglecting Vijayanagar.⁴⁰ His letters, like all those exchanged on the subject of the Cannanore

crisis, are evidence of the plots which were being woven at that time. The factions which had already divided the Portuguese captains in Africa had not broken up in India. Pero Fernandes Tinoco accused the Viceroy of abusing his rights and of being so intolerant of those who were undertaking missions for the king that he had removed them and replaced them with his own creatures. Such was the case with the Castilian Guadalajara who had been appointed *alcaide-mor* of Cannanore in place of João Pegas because he and the Viceroy had both lived in Crato. Gaspar Pereira was soon to join this group⁴¹ which was loyally served by Gaspar da India. While Pero Fernandes Tinoco reproached D. Francisco for submitting to the influence of this *cristão novo* and for being more concerned with commercial profit than the conversion of the Indian sovereigns to Christianity,⁴² Gaspar was rejoicing at being able to serve men of honour. He denounced the illicit traffic which was being negotiated under the *feitor's* nose and was horrified at the attitude of most of the captains who were 'stealing' what belonged to the king by dealing directly with the native people.⁴³ This correspondence not only uncovered the Portuguese quarrels, it also disclosed the differences which were dividing the Cannanore authorities. It revealed the existence of a Portuguese party, grouped around the Nātuvāri and his uncle and supported by Vijayanagar. Despite the declarations of friendship he lavished on D. Manuel, it seems that the Kōḷaṭhiri was not part of this movement. He was distanced from it by the person of the Nātuvāri with whom he was embroiled for reasons which have remained a mystery. Furthermore, he was beginning to assess the price he was paying for the Portuguese alliance, which was threatening to deprive him of the taxes raised on the horses and was exposing him to the incessant interference of the Muslim merchants. He was alarmed at the mistrust his policies had aroused in foreign ports.⁴⁴ His own family was not spared in the conflict since the Islamic community had gained for its cause a rival prince to the Nātuvāri.⁴⁵ Despite the Viceroy's promises⁴⁶ of prosperity, the king was beginning to fear that the 'sugar' of the Portuguese friendship would turn to 'poison'.⁴⁷

The warning from Vijayanagar had reduced the Muslim party to silence but had not pacified its resentment. Cannanore and Dharmapaṭam had continued to supply and help Calicut during the last months of 1505.⁴⁸ The Viceroy cut short by offering his

protection to the local flotillas⁴⁹ which each year undertook their long journey to the ports of Gujarat where they collected textiles which, from April to September, were exchanged for spices from Malacca and cinnamon from Ceylon.⁵⁰ The shores of Konkan were not too safe; they had been inhabited since antiquity by pirate communities who often sold their services to the country's rājas. The Portuguese had already assured themselves of the neutrality of Timoji, the king of Honāvar's corsair;⁵¹ but they had to be wary of the pirate boats from Goa and Dabhol which would hide along the winding coastline and spring out when the Malabar ships passed. In January the Viceroy instructed D. Lourenço to escort the ships sailing from Cochin, Dharmapaṭam, Cannanore and Māṭāyi to Cambay,⁵² ordering him not to make any seizures, thereby avoiding any acts of reprisal.⁵³ This was D. Francisco's way of both responding to the confidence of the Cochin and Cannanore kings and trying to gain that of the Māppiḷa merchants. At the same time he was keeping a watchful eye on the coast through the presence of Portuguese ships interspersed with local craft. It seems that the escorts never went further than the Indian shores. One of them, which was accompanying a Cochin trader to Malacca, had been forced to turn back after a hostile encounter with Coromandel merchants.⁵⁴ But as well as protecting the Malabar ships, the Portuguese were also becoming familiar with the commercial routes of Malabar and those lands yet to be 'discovered'.

The Calicut threats still jeopardized all ventures which mobilized the armada far from the fortresses. While waiting for the fleet promised by the Sultan of Egypt, the Zamorin was making efforts to increase and perfect his navy.⁵⁵ His preparations did not escape the attention of Ludovico de Varthema who was living in Calicut at that time, posing as a Muslim. Having spent several years in the East, he felt he would like to return to Europe and decided to offer his services to the Portuguese authorities. On 5 December 1505 he gave the slip to two Persian merchants who had escorted him to Cannanore and presented himself at the fortress. He was received by D. Lourenço to whom he gave information about the two Italian deserters whose company he had kept in Calicut and who had been appointed as the Zamorin's military engineers.⁵⁶ In so doing, Ludovico di Varthema was taking his place within the Portuguese ranks and becoming the principal witness of the events for which Cannanore was to become the setting.

Calicut's hostility was not apparent for some time. Its forces had not supported the rebellion of the Cannanore Muslims and the *feitores* had been able to ensure the peaceful loading of the ships which had sailed to Africa in January. The Viceroy was in Cochin supervising the rebuilding of the fortress while D. Lourenço was spending the time cruising up and down the coast, frequently calling at Cannanore where the first long-awaited confrontation was to occur. The Calicut fleet had set sail on 12 March, and was travelling north along the coast which was heavy with ships from Ponnāni, Kappatt, Pantalāyini-Kollam and Dharmapaṭam which joined the fleet as it passed. Two hundred strong the convoy arrived off Cannanore on 16 March⁵⁷ 'like a vast floating forest, casting a shadow on the sea'.⁵⁸ As it approached, D. Lourenço called together the *fidalgos* and captains to take advice and to read them a letter from the Viceroy which gave instructions to accept combat if necessary. The armada included only eleven ships, two of which were galleys and one a brigantine, and was faced with the prospect of confronting eighty more large ships and one hundred *paraos*.⁵⁹ This imbalance was felt to be something of a challenge. 'Everyone wished to die in this battle'⁶⁰ and all prepared for this 'festival of fire and blood in which they longed to take part'.⁶¹ It seems that on this occasion the chronicles have not exaggerated the attitude of the captains whose excitement can be explained by their youth. The account given by Ludovico di Varthema, who was there, gives some indication of the forces driving them at that time. They were in fact motivated by pride to demonstrate their bravery as they wanted to gain the admiration of the king of Cannanore⁶² and the crowd of people who were beginning to gather on the shore. The exhortations of D. Lourenço, like those of his chaplain, called upon the faith of the combatants. The notion of Christianity superseded that of the fatherland and the fact that it was Good Friday was a sign of an ordeal to come which would confuse the forces of Islam.⁶³

The wind having dropped, the Calicut fleet had come to a standstill overnight, thus enabling its adversaries to assess its strength at their leisure. The dressed ships were well equipped with artillery and manned by archers, lancers and arquebusiers. The silk tunics of the Nāyars⁶⁴ were mixed with the red quilted coats of the Muslim warriors.⁶⁵ But it appears that the display of this military equipment was merely designed to discourage a

potential attack, since the war *paraos* could not hide the merchant vessels,⁶⁶ a point which raises doubts about the aggressive intentions which the Portuguese captains attributed to their enemy. The Calicut fleet had the appearance of a great convoy, bringing together the ships of the principal coastal towns and protected by an armed squadron. The latter was equipped to defend itself and to stand up to the barrage of the Cannanore fortress in order to re-establish its control over its traditional sea routes.

In a message sent to D. Lourenço at daybreak on 17 March, the *nakhodas* requested a free passage and denied that they wanted to fight the Christians. D. Lourenço refused all negotiations,⁶⁷ calling to mind the massacre of 1500. He let the enemy fleet enter the Cannanore bay so that the Kōḷaṭhiri could follow the changing fortunes of the battle. He then charged towards the two largest vessels and chained his own ship to one of their anchors. This was the signal for a furious skirmish in which the Portuguese struggled, twenty against one, taking most of the ships by boarding. Their accurate gunfire made holes in the *sambucos* which sank one after another, taking down with them merchandize, elephants and bags of spices.⁶⁸ Ludovico di Varthema, who was on board Simão Martins' brigantine, recorded the flight of the 'Mouros' after a battle which lasted until the evening. Some tried to reach the shore, others threw themselves into the water and were pursued all night by the Portuguese long boats and slain with arrows and lances.⁶⁹

As a thanksgiving, D. Lourenço donated a new fortress chapel. It was dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Vitória⁷⁰ and stood at the edge of the rocks on the very spot where the rampart *serpe* had once been placed.⁷¹ The chronicles convey the admiration of the Kōḷaṭhiri who came to congratulate the victors.⁷² There is little point in questioning the sincerity of his words but it would probably be true to say that the Portuguese victory consolidated his own political position and resulted in his opponents adopting a more cautious attitude.

The course of events which followed this battle are not easy to follow. The 1506 documents are sparse and leave gaps. The report sent by D. Francisco to the king in December only remains in the form of a *sumário*⁷³ which confirms the account of the chronicles even though few of them ever agree on the date of the discovery missions.⁷⁴ On the other hand they are keen to go into the details

of the day-to-day activities and intrigues. Gaspar da India describes these with complacency in a long letter which refers to the conditions under which the Portuguese adapted to the realities of Indian life.⁷⁵ The truce which the monsoon imposed on the maritime war was turned to profit in order to resolve the practical problems of their installation. For the first time there was a large fleet in India. The Viceroy ordered the ships to be repaired on the shores but, fearing they would be set on fire, refused to have them brought on land and covered with *cadjans* as was the custom of the country.⁷⁶ He preferred to have them put straight back into the sea where they could be protected by the fortresses which were just being completed. They had brought from Portugal chapel ornaments and Flanders tapestries to hang in the captains' rooms.⁷⁷ The soldiers were housed in straw huts built under cover of the rampart.⁷⁸ A building was erected near the citadel gate as was a warehouse for storing provisions.⁷⁹ The Portuguese had to adapt to the local food, using palm oil instead of olive oil, rice instead of corn.⁸⁰ The absence of bread from their diet was hard for them to accept, even though the sacks of wheat occasionally delivered to the *feitoria* by the Cambay vessels meant that they did not go entirely without it.⁸¹ Wine was reserved for the sick; everyone else had to be content with palm wine⁸² and a meagre ration of chicken and fish.⁸³ The fact that red meat was not available sometimes forced the men to slaughter cows, which deeply shocked the Hindus.⁸⁴

The rainy season was to favour the first contacts with the local population by isolating the garrisons of Cochin and Cannanore from each other. The former, being under the direct authority of the Viceroy, was obliged to obey his strict orders. But the Cannanore garrison was completely free to infringe upon them, so much so that when the monsoon ended Gaspar Pereira was sent there, in the company of Gaspar da India, to inform D. Francisco of the frauds which had been committed.⁸⁵ In his capacity as interpreter, Gaspar da India was given the special task of making enquiries among the Muslim merchants who seemed to be happy with the deals negotiated with the officers at the fortress. The Castilian Fernão Bermudes, captain of the *Taforea* anchored off Cannanore, was trading off the gold from the Mombassa booty for his personal gain procuring safe-conducts in return.⁸⁶ Varthema was to discover that such documents were also granted to the

Calicut merchants who travelled with those from Kōḷaṭṭuṇād in order to sail with impunity.⁸⁷ Secure in the friendship which linked him with the Viceroy, Guadalajara, the *alcaide-mor*, concealed from him the arrangements worked out with the Māppiḷas and sold for his own profit the *feitoria's* coral, even though its exploitation was a royal monopoly, and other goods which were so numerous 'that they cannot be recorded on four sheets of paper'. He had become very rich and had bought two slaves whom he treated like servants by paying them ten *cruzados* per month in wages and provisions. As *quadrilheiro-mor* of the Mombassa booty, he was in league with Diogo Correia, who traded in women's African jewellery, and with Rui Freire, who, it was reported by a Muslim, had purchased pearls and *sinabafos* for several hundred *cruzados* of gold and silver. The area covered by these transactions extended to Bhaṭkaḷ and the neighbouring ports of Calicut where the captains went ashore as soon as the weather permitted.⁸⁸ Although he was filled with genuine indignation, Gaspar da India made it clear that the Muslims got something out of these deals and that the collaboration of interests forged real ties. It would appear that D. Francisco was aware of this fact and that the need to win over his captains was not the only reason for the favours they enjoyed. He himself had been approached by some of the merchants who had offered him the chance to make money from the freedom of their ships.⁸⁹

The easy ways of the Malabar women posed different kinds of problems. Anxious to respect the recommendations of his *regimento*⁹⁰ D. Francisco began by punishing those who were caught with 'pagans'.⁹¹ He guarded against any scandal which might discredit his men and jeopardize the well-being of their souls. For although the Pope had recently lifted the ban on dealing with non-Christians,⁹² it was still very much an offence to frequent Heathen girls. The fear of mortal sin was soon superseded by the attraction of the Malabar women who would prowl around the fortress and would sometimes succeed in setting up home with the soldiers of the garrison.⁹³ These were women of the Tiyan and Mukkuvan castes⁹⁴—the Nāyars being banned from the towns⁹⁵—who were used to attaching themselves to foreigners for personal gain. The Viceroy had no option but to have the more beautiful ones baptized and to allow them to cohabit with their men. Gaspar Correia, who recounts these facts, adds with a somewhat naïve

self-satisfaction that there was a sudden plethora of proselytes, that mothers would offer their daughters and that the Muslim women would defy their husbands in order to be converted to Christianity and share the life of the Portuguese.⁹⁶ The first unions do not appear to have been sanctified by marriage, as was the case later, but they saw the origin of the Luso-Indian villages which soon appeared around the fortresses. The changes they brought about in the low castes had a harmful effect on the interests of the Nāyars who found themselves deprived of the duties and services that the Tiyans and Mukkuvans could no longer guarantee once they entered the Christian community. In 1507 the Kōḷaṭhiri complained to D. Manuel regarding the problems that such a situation was causing in terms of social hierarchy.⁹⁷

The newly converted did not escape attack. In Cannanore a recently baptized man had been killed by order of the Muslims and the Kōḷaṭhiri had to sentence one of them to death.⁹⁸ More serious grievances followed. The Muslim resentment was rekindled by the discovery missions which the Portuguese undertook at the end of August. The territory they were now beginning to explore corresponded exactly to the Cannanore Muslim's zone of influence. In early 1503 the latter had already expressed alarm at Vicente Sodré's expedition to the region of the Maldives and at the seizure of four *gundras*, the booties of which had revealed the archipelago's resources.⁹⁹ Upon leaving Cannanore, Afonso de Albuquerque had asked for a pilot to guide them through the islands,¹⁰⁰ but the lateness of his departure suggests that this plan was never followed up. The expedition commanded by D. Lourenço took him to Male, 'Quymdiquel',¹⁰¹ and as far afield as Ceylon where the Cannanore traders, who held strong positions there, looked on with no little concern while D. Lourenço obtained an initial cinnamon tribute from the king of Kōṭṭē.¹⁰² The Viceroy made no mystery of his intention to gain control of Ormuz¹⁰³ and so complete the disruption of the horse trade and the downfall of the Cannanore merchants.

D. Lourenço's squadron, which was to sail for the Persian Gulf¹⁰⁴ at the end of November, never left the Indian shores. It is not known what event forced D. Francisco to change his plans, but it is easy to understand the reasons for his caution. Having waited in vain for the arrival of the armada from Lisbon, he must have resolved to carry on with his own forces and to forego the risk

of undertaking long expeditions.¹⁰⁵ The euphoria which had followed the March victory had subsided. The men's morale was deteriorating with each day, whereas the Muslims' joy was evident.¹⁰⁶ They made a point of spreading the predictions of the soothsayers who had recognized in the eclipse of the sun in January 1506 the imminent downfall of the Portuguese.¹⁰⁷ In addition to these prophecies it was rumoured that the Rumes were coming¹⁰⁸ from Egypt. The return of the dry season put off for several months the fear of seeing a new armada relieving the Viceroy's troops which already included a considerable number of crippled, burnt and sick men.¹⁰⁹ In order better to regroup his forces, D. Francisco was obliged to dismantle the Anjediva fortress which had just been besieged by one of the Sabayo of Goa's fleets in the command of a Portuguese turncoat.¹¹⁰ The spice merchants were again discussing the prices and this involved Gaspar da India in constant negotiations.¹¹¹ When speaking of Cannanore, Lourenço de Brito was not afraid to express to D. Manuel his despair at not being able to put an end to the Muslim power: the Calicut ships sailed as they pleased, the friends of Portugal were ruined, its king discredited, India lost.¹¹²

The time was right for a renewed revolt by the Islamic communities, although they still lacked the backing of a sovereign. The king of Calicut had been reluctant to take any risks until the death of the Kōḷaṭhiri at the beginning of April 1507 gave him the opportunity to use his influence at the Valarpaṭṭaṇam court and to put in a prince of his own choosing.¹¹³ The claimant he favoured had continually supported the Muslim party and would not fail to make use of the hostile forces of a particularly active population. The ploys of the Zamorin resulted in the prince's victory over the Nātuvāri who had been asserting his legitimate claims of inheritance even though he had incurred the disfavour of the dead sovereign.¹¹⁴

Before being crowned, the Kōḷaṭhiri was obliged to observe a thirteen day period of mourning, during which he was forbidden to take any political initiative.¹¹⁵ It was at this time that the tide began to wash up on the Cannanore beach the bodies of shipwrecked Muslims. It was soon discovered that Gonçalo Vaz de Góis, who had been cruising off Mount Eli a few days earlier, had stopped and searched a ship which he suspected was from Calicut. Probably obsessed by the abuse of the safe conducts system and by the

hoaxes which, being too subtle, had escaped most of the captains, he would neither believe the *nakhoda*, who protested he was from Cannanore, nor give any consideration to the *seguro* presented to him. Despite the fact that the document had been signed by Lourenço de Brito, the *nakhoda* was killed, his ship towed to Cochin¹¹⁶ and the crew sown up in a sail and thrown into the sea. The action of the water soon broke the rope from the corners and freed the drowned men who were carried on the current to the Cannanore beach. The crowd rushed to identify the victims among whom the nephew of Mamale, 'one of the chief merchants of the town', was shortly afterwards identified.¹¹⁷

It is at this point that the Portuguese chronicles first refer to this character who suddenly detaches himself from the 'Mouros de Cananor' to emerge as their leader. Was he already the 'regedor do mar' known by Gaspar Correia? Was he the instigator of the attacks and riots which had been perpetrated over the two preceding years and the self-appointed governor of the Maldives who had negotiated the agreement of 1494? It is not known whether he inherited or was the innovator of the expansion policy of the Cannanore Muslims. 'Mamale',¹¹⁸ 'Mamaly',¹¹⁹ 'Mamele',¹²⁰ 'Mamalle Mercar',¹²¹ 'Malmavicar',¹²²—it is not clear what his name really was, but it was probably derived from Muḥammad Āli, to which was added, in keeping with Māppiḷa custom, that of his household¹²³—Arakkal—which Tomé Pires may have confused with the title of Marakkar.¹²⁴ None of the documents helps in determining his age or the duties he performed in 1507, although it is evident that at that time he enjoyed a fairly considerable authority which enabled him to benefit from an exceptionally favourable situation. He brought together all those who had been injured when the ship had been seized and went to protest vociferously to Lourenço de Brito, accusing him of having misled them as to the value of the safe conducts he had issued.¹²⁵ He then led a group of widows and orphans, crying and wailing, before the Kōḷaṭhiri.¹²⁶ Mamale was aware that the mourning restrictions deprived the sovereign of any authority. He knew the reprisals he was about to seek would not be refused and hurriedly wrote to the Muslim chiefs of Calicut, asking them to obtain military aid from the Zamorin. Twenty-four pieces of artillery were immediately sent to Cannanore¹²⁷ while eighteen thousand Nāyars, who had come from all over Malabar,¹²⁸ gathered around the city. It appears

that the Nāṭuvāri made no attempt to approach the Vijayanagar sovereign as he had done some months earlier when order had been re-established. Narasiṃha was in fact too busy controlling the rebellions following the assassination of his predecessor¹²⁹ for being concerned with the Portuguese fortress. However, the Nāṭuvāri did inform Lourenço de Brito of the imminent danger.¹³⁰

The headland was already cut off. By order of the Cannanore authorities, a ditch had been dug to isolate the fortress from the city. A narrow path was left however to allow the Portuguese garrison to gain access to the fresh water well which it normally used¹³¹ and which was located 'a stone's throw' from the rampart.¹³² This apparent convenience was merely an ambush since the well was soon guarded by artillery which the Nāyars and Muslims placed along the trench. Lourenço de Brito confined his men to barracks as any further visits to the town to conduct business would now mean certain attack.¹³³ April went by, bringing the first storms. The Viceroy's son, who was cruising along the Konkan shore, was informed by Timoḡi of the fortress's critical position.¹³⁴ When he reached Cannanore he released about sixty men and some munitions¹³⁵ and then headed for Cochin where he arrived on Holy Thursday. Having been immediately alerted, D. Francisco did not wait for the end of the office of Tenebrae. He took on board his best fighters and began to gather in provisions, going from hut to hut inviting each person to give up part of his ration for those about to be besieged. Some handed over all their arms, keeping back only their breeches and doublets.¹³⁶

During this time Lourenço de Brito was reinforcing his defences. Opposite the well he had a palisade built in the form of a barbican; this was protected by a moat which was traversed by means of a drawbridge held by two chains. The guns were placed on small bastions made of earth.¹³⁷ The *cadjans* were removed from the huts and used to cover the fortifications to protect them from the torrential rain. The look-out tower was hoisted on a caravel mast fixed to the postern.¹³⁸ Near the palisade a large straw hut was built and fitted with benches to shelter the guards.¹³⁹ All the work was carried out by the soldiers, helped by slaves and some of the women converts who were provided with food.¹⁴⁰ D. Lourenço soon arrived, offering help, but Lourenço de Brito turned him down as he was not too anxious to see his authority challenged by the Viceroy's son,¹⁴¹ who had no choice but to return to Cochin

after four days spent off-loading men and munitions.¹⁴² The hurricanes began to block the coast, cutting off the Cannanore fortress completely.

The reinforcements from Cochin brought the number of men in the garrison to three or four hundred,¹⁴³ among them a small number of Malabari people. The positions of command were held by the *feitor* Lopo Cabreira, the *alcaide-mor* Guadalajara, Pero Fernandes Tinoco, Gonalo Vaz de Gois and some of those who later distinguished themselves at Albuquerque's side: the brothers Ferno and Simo de Andrade, Antnio Raposo and Joo Gomes Cheiradinheiro.¹⁴⁴ Ludovico di Varthema was also with them. They were divided into captaincies which took it in turn to keep watch as they did at sea.¹⁴⁵ While some defended the rampart others protected the headland to which the *paraos* could still have access and where the *feitoria* and the converts' hamlet stood.¹⁴⁶ The food—rice, sugar and coconuts¹⁴⁷—had to be distributed by each captain.¹⁴⁸ Twice a week a squad would venture to the well, each time exchanging blows with the 'Mouros' who lay in ambush around the fortress. After 27 April¹⁴⁹ the skirmishes became more and more bloody until before long they degenerated into open warfare. Some months later the Klathiri was to defend himself to D. Manuel by saying that since his period of mourning had not expired he had been unable to intervene and the tension had led too quickly to irreversible action.¹⁵⁰

The assailants sometimes came in force, two or three thousand at a time, brandishing arms. Glowing in the light of their fireworks and excited by their own cries and the noise of their instruments, they rushed towards the first defences of the fortress and were soon dispersed by the Portuguese artillery.¹⁵¹ These raids demoralized the garrison less than the cunning ambushes at the well. After the first strikes, Loureno de Brito had decided to have the water duties protected by the guards whose job it was to occupy the enemy. These sorties resulted in so many dead and wounded that they had to be drastically reduced. The thirst, made even worse by the intense heat of the month of May, soon became unbearable, and the men began to risk death to go and fetch water, creeping out to reach the well surreptitiously. These breaches of discipline forced the captain to authorize more frequent sorties which always resulted in a life being taken. This situation, which before long had exhausted the Portuguese forces, was reversed

by the ingenuity of Thomas Fernandes, the fortress architect. He had the idea of digging a tunnel which would lead to the wall of the well, just above the level of the water. In order to trick the adversary's vigilance more effectively—it was suspected that poison might have been poured into the well—he fitted a wooden board below the curbstone; he then blocked up the external opening with branches mixed with earth. The soldiers then pretended they had discovered another water hole on their own land and stayed within their walls.¹⁵² The monsoon had just begun, causing everyone to return to their positions. The enemy advance guards had taken shelter in a coconut palm wood to the west of the town. The slippery earth, soon channelled by bogs, made all sorties dangerous.¹⁵³

The prolonged silence of the Indian army, which made the Portuguese suspicious, could not be explained by the rains alone. Lourenço de Brito's only informant was the Nātuvāri in whom he had not yet placed all his trust. He decided to take a prisoner and had a wolf trap set up by the fortress carpenter. He then sent out about forty arquebusiers who proceeded to the enemy camp and, once they had been spotted, fled, drawing their pursuers towards the trap, which had been concealed in front of the palisade gate and which ensnared a Nāyar chief. The latter revealed that the Kōḷaṭhiri was preparing a major offensive for which the Muslims had conceived the idea of protecting the combatants with bales of cotton and coir.¹⁵⁴ This information was shortly afterwards confirmed by an envoy of the Nātuvāri who landed on the headland at dead of night with two almadias filled with hens, figs and coconuts.¹⁵⁵ This gesture by the prince dispelled all the reservations that the Portuguese captains had once had about him. The jewels of gold and silver that they gave to the messenger were an expression of their gratitude.¹⁵⁶ It is difficult to specify the political role held by the Nātuvāri in these circumstances because there is no record of the royal councils; it is unlikely that he openly supported the Portuguese cause for fear of being discovered. At any rate account should be taken of the words of Castenhedá and Damião de Gois according to whom the prince tried to discourage the Kōḷaṭhiri from attempting a victory which all the Zamorin's might had failed to achieve. The chroniclers add that the sovereign had not wished to listen to him and was more receptive to the bellicose plans of the Muslim chiefs.¹⁵⁷

The Nātuvāri had recommended to Lourenço de Brito that the land in front of the fortress be cleared in order to extend the battle field and keep the assailants at a distance.¹⁵⁸ The confrontation took place one June evening,¹⁵⁹ when the first cotton bales approached the fortress, each one being pushed by two men and being of sufficient size to afford them shelter. Together they formed a front line barrier which protected those whose job it was to build the *cadjan* huts of the military camp all along the trench. Lourenço de Brito ordered the guns to be fired but it was soon apparent that no damage was being done to the cotton bales and that their advance could not be stopped. Such a method of defence, devised by Muslim strategists, enabled the rear forces to convey the artillery on carts and take up position for the next day's battle.¹⁶⁰

At nightfall those under siege pretended to conduct noisy festivities in the hope that the enemy would not suspect how worried they really were.¹⁶¹ The battle, which resumed at dawn, soon confirmed the advantage held by the assailants. The Portuguese bombardiers had stopped counting the wasted cannon balls absorbed by the cotton bales, the advance of which nothing seemed to be able to check. The second line of combatants filled the trench with branches so that nothing could break of thrust of those preparing themselves for the assault. The Portuguese artillery missed its target at every strike and each time this was greeted with cheers and shouts of joy from their enemy.¹⁶² Then, just as Lourenço de Brito was beginning to exhaust all the available weaponry, he remembered that there was a *serpe*¹⁶³ in the fortress and sent for it. Although all the chronicles are unanimous on this point, it is difficult to believe that the captain had forgotten about such a powerful gun and had waited until the last moment to use it. It was Damião de Goís' informant, the Flemish *condestabre*, Rutger de Gueldre, who was given the 'honour' of setting light to it and seeing the flocks of cotton from the ripped bales flying through the air, mixed with dismembered bodies. The *serpe* soon shattered the assailants' ingenious apparatus and caused panic throughout much of their army.¹⁶⁴ By mid-day the rout was complete. There were more Nāyar and Muslim bodies than branches in the ditch.¹⁶⁵ Lourenço de Brito's caution, however, held him back even though he was very keen to pursue the enemy and force them to take flight, but Guadalajarra was able to persuade him with such insistence that he agreed to refer the matter to the council of captains

who immediately adopted the *alcaide-mor's* plan. The night was black and wet. The noise of the rain allowed the bombardiers to deploy their weapons all along the trench without being heard by the enemy and to position the *camelo*¹⁶⁶ on an advanced post overlooking the camp. At the head of about a hundred men, Guadalajara slipped silently along the path and swooped down with a cry of victory on the Nāyars who lay asleep, curled up under the coconut palms. At this signal all the guns were fired together, startling the enemy who fled as quickly as was possible on ground which was slippery and soft under foot. In the morning the soldiers whose duty it was to collect the booty counted more than three hundred dead on the Malabar side; they seized seven iron guns and abandoned food, and burned what was left.¹⁶⁷

The provisions were welcomed by the besieged who had exhausted their reserves. They were still to experience hunger, however, as the result of a mistake made by one of Lopo Cabreira's young clerks who carelessly left a candle burning in the *feitoria* buildings. The fire consumed all the merchandize and reached the adjoining huts, the burning *cadjans* setting the whole headland ablaze. All the garrison now had to live on, until the end of the monsoon, were some bags of food which Lopo de Brito had stored in the fortress warehouses. He quickly proclaimed that there would be enough for everyone, as he wanted to reassure those whose condition was weak¹⁶⁸ and prevent them from going over to the enemy; but he could not conceal for long a reality which became increasingly distressing as each day went by. Before long there was not a dog or a cat left within the walls of the citadel which had not been devoured, even rats and lizards were being hunted. The men were wasting away, exhausted by hunger and the night watches.¹⁶⁹ Some Malabaris could not be prevented from flying and rushed to inform the Cannanore authorities of the deprivation suffered at the Portuguese garrison.¹⁷⁰ All the adversary needed to do was to wait for the moment when hunger would force out the besieged. The opportunity came on 25 July, Saint James' day, when Lourenço de Brito sent a squad out beyond the trench to collect information about the intentions of the enemy and to scrape together some food. The Nāyars, who were lying in ambush in the wood, immediately attacked. They decided to seize Lourenço de Brito's nephew, whose coat of arms they had recognized and whom they had taken to be the fortress captain. Help

was needed from the garrison to release the prisoner who was about to be taken before the king. Gonçalo Vaz de Gois was killed in this encounter, Pero Fernandes Tinoco and Fernão Peres de Andrade wounded, and the captain's nephew scarred.¹⁷¹ It had taken so little to crush the Portuguese that the king resolved to encourage them to leave the fortress more often. But was it the king's idea to release two cows along the entrenchment to attract the starving people? The chroniclers' account will have to be interpreted here, because it is unlikely that a Hindu sovereign would ever accept that a sacred animal should serve as bait. It is more probable that this stratagem was the work of the Muslim authorities who were bound to benefit from it whatever the outcome. The Portuguese succeeded in catching the cows, and were quite prepared to risk their lives every day for a feast of this kind; but they were dishonoured for committing such a sacrilege and disgraced in the eyes of the local people.¹⁷²

The besieged were not so concerned with causing a scandal as with looking for signs of providence, and were therefore struck with wonder when on the day following the mid-August storms they found a mound of lobsters stranded on the sand of the headland.¹⁷³ It was the day of the Assumption and the thanks they offered to Our Lady strengthened their hope. There was enough shell fish to keep them going until the swell subsided bringing in its eddy the Cochin ships.

The Cannanore authorities were resolved to exterminate the Portuguese garrison before the intervention of the Viceroy and the Onam holiday. The weather did not yet permit sailing on the high seas, but did allow a coastal attack. The Nātuvāri made it known to Lourenço de Brito that the Muslims and the Kōḷaṭhiri had received help from Calicut and were attempting to throw all their force behind a final onslaught. Thus it was that one morning the fortress found itself surrounded. The ground was thick with warriors, the sea covered with *paraos* and *tones*. Mounted on rafts made from almadias, two wooden bastions, similar to those that the Zamorin had previously used against Duarte Pacheco's caravels were seen approaching. Each one carried about a hundred archers and arquebusiers and weaponry placed at a good height so that it was in the firing line of the fortress rampart-walk. So weakened were they by their hardship, that the Portuguese had by this time stopped counting their sick and wounded; and yet, in spite of their

difficulties, they were not prepared to give in without a fight. Their victory was due to the inaccessibility afforded to the enemy troops by the rocks around the fortress and to the precision of the *camelo* and above all the *espera* which cut to shreds the coir-filled bulwarks of the rafts and blew to pieces the wooden bastions even before they reached the headland. When the smoke cleared the besieged were able to assess the extent of the aggressors' losses by the number of wrecks.¹⁷⁴ It seems that the conflict on land had been less intense, the Nāyars having become discouraged as soon as they had lost hope of a successful landing.

The prospect of an imminent return of the Portuguese ships swayed the sovereign towards a more moderate approach. The determination of the Muslims still had to be broken. This was achieved the following Friday when the fortress guns fired on the mosque and succeeded in knocking down part of a wall onto the praying crowd.¹⁷⁵

The king of Cochin's spies had kept the Viceroy informed of the vicissitudes of the siege. D. Lourenço's intervention, which was anticipated with hope as each day went by, was again delayed by adverse winds. On 27 August Lourenço de Brito's dinner was interrupted by the noise of the guards: the red crossed sails of a Portuguese armada were appearing off Mount Eli. This was Tristão da Cunha's armada which was no longer expected.¹⁷⁶ A messenger was sent before the captain who immediately sent to the fortress a few rowing boats manned with knights clad in iron armour.¹⁷⁷

Peace was now only days away. The richest merchant of Cannanore—referred to as 'Malmavicar' by Varthema¹⁷⁸—was delegated to go to the fortress. It is probable that this was Mamale, but the conditions of his capitulation are not known. It seems that the *statu quo ante* had returned and that the dealings which had been interrupted five months earlier had been resumed immediately.

It is appropriate at this stage to draw some conclusions from the fortress siege. There seemed little point in interrupting the flow of the account as documented in the chronicles and Ludovico di Varthema's all too brief report with too many critical comments, particularly since the absence of any Indian sources rules out a comparative analysis. A letter from the Kōlāthiri, dated 6 December 1507,¹⁷⁹ is the only document which contradicts the Portuguese version, and even this is moderated by well chosen words and by

the sovereign's concern to justify himself to D. Manuel. Some of the main points arising out of the Portuguese sources are therefore worth highlighting:

— The chroniclers' unanimity means that the facts cannot be doubted. Only Damião de Goís gives the name of his informant—Rutger de Gueldre, the *condestabre* of the fortress—whom he met during his stay at the Antwerp *feitoria*.¹⁸⁰ It is not out of the question that João de Barros and Castanheda knew about this testimony, although it is more likely that Castanheda collected his information in India from among the veterans.¹⁸¹ Their stories probably supported the account of Gaspar Correia, sometimes inclined to confuse people and distort events. Nevertheless, his version is comparable in essence with the three others, and they are all faithful to Ludovico di Varthema's testimony written some months after the events.¹⁸²

— The same confidence cannot be placed in the chroniclers when they claim to know what happened on the Indian side and when they attribute to the adversary intentions and remarks which cannot be verified. However, some consideration should be given to the attitudes portrayed in their accounts even if they are a little prompt to accuse the enemy of cowardice and to exaggerate the number of their dead. The tactics of war, the military apparel and equipment, the socio-religious constraints of the sovereigns and warriors are as described in the epic Indian literature.

— Taking the above into account, it appears that the siege was the initiative of the Muslims alone and that the Kōḷaṭhiri merely sanctioned their action. Mamale's diplomatic moves at the outset of the conflict, the presence of Muslim dignitaries at the royal councils,¹⁸³ the absence of the traditional Brahmin negotiators,¹⁸⁴ and of the king on the battle field,¹⁸⁵ and even the delegation responsible for requesting peace are all factors which demonstrate the authority of the Islamic community and give some indication as to the strength of its political power.

The Cannanore Muslims could make no further attacks on the fortress. Two new movements shifted the rival forces of Portugal and Islam towards the Persian Gulf and the shores of Cambay. On the one hand, Socotra, the Oman countries and Ormuz had been explored and partly brought under control by Afonso

de Albuquerque and Tristão da Cunha; on the other hand the Mameluke fleet, commanded by Amir Ḥusayn had finally appeared in the Indian waters and was arriving on the shores of Gujarat.¹⁸⁶ The hopes of the Muslims had been revived by the rumours, then the confirmation, that the Rumes were coming.

The Kōlathiri was once more trying to seek D. Manuel's favour, as witnessed in a long letter dated 6 December 1507.¹⁸⁷ He began by summarizing the history of their relations and of the crises which had affected them. He then declared his loyalty and asked only of the king that he take into account the changes in the prices of goods and that he see to it that the social order, which was under threat as the result of all the conversions among the low castes, was respected. This conciliatory attitude was motivated among other things by the clauses of a peace treaty unknown to the chroniclers and according to which the *feitor* was obliged henceforth to give the sovereign one half of all the goods seized in the waters of his kingdom.¹⁸⁸

In March 1508 the Mameluke fleet, which was anchored off Diu, left its home port and made for Chaul where it surprised the Portuguese fleet. D. Lourenço was killed in the battle. Nevertheless, subtle negotiations took place between D. Francisco de Almeida and Malik Ayaz, governor of Diu. Their collusion was to destroy the forces of Amir Ḥusayn a year later,¹⁸⁹ giving the Portuguese that control of the sea that they had always sought as a condition necessary to their presence in India.¹⁹⁰

Upon his return from the Diu battle, the Viceroy received a triumphant reception in Cannanore. The Muslim dignitaries went out in person to meet him, travelling in *parâos* covered in foliage, while the Rumes prisoners were hanged in the flagship's yard and others were fired from cannons like missiles. The dignitaries went straight on board D. Francisco's ship and offered him oranges and the congratulations of the Kōlathiri.¹⁹¹ The disappointment which lay beneath these gestures of courtesy is entirely understandable when it is known that at that very moment Mamale was among those helping the Sabayo of Goa to rebuild the Rume's fleet.¹⁹² The Viceroy was probably not taken in and asked his best captains to travel from Cochin to Cannanore during the monsoon because he suspected a siege.¹⁹³

The 1509 documents only uncover the day to day running of the *feitoria*. The gunpowder factory and the hospital were con-

structed once the repairs had been carried out on the citadel.¹⁹⁴ The Cannanore water was ideal for refining the saltpetre which was procured in Honāvar through Timoĵi. Sulphur—another component of cannon powder—was in plentiful supply locally. A building was set aside for grinding charcoal and for the manufacture of a better quality powder than that produced in Portugal. Beside the apothecary's shop and near Nossa Senhora da Vitória stood the hospital among the coconut palms and the standards taken from the Rumes which had been set into the ground around the church.¹⁹⁵ Although it cannot be traced before 1510¹⁹⁶, it is probable that the hospital was built after the siege, as the infirmary was not big enough to accommodate the large number of wounded and sick. It was discovered early on that the cool climate and the Cannanore waters had a curing effect and could heal certain tropical fevers.¹⁹⁷

On 5 December 1508 Afonso de Albuquerque disembarked in Cannanore to take up his position as Governor. But D. Francisco refused to hand over his powers and in so doing delayed the release of those in authority at the citadel.¹⁹⁸ Guadalajara, however, exhausted by the ordeals of the siege, obtained permission to return to Europe¹⁹⁹ and the *feitor*, Lopo Cabreira, was replaced by Gonçalo Mendes.²⁰⁰ Lopo de Brito stayed at his post as his successor designate, D. Afonso de Noronha, had been detained in Socotra through ill health.²⁰¹ On 9 September 1509 the Viceroy directed him to hold Afonso de Albuquerque secretly in the fortress dungeon and to see that he did not communicate with any Malabar sovereign.²⁰² This imprisonment brought the conflict of priorities to a head, but did not prevent the captive from finding support, escaping and taking refuge in one of the huts on the headland.²⁰³ On 1 December, through the intervention of Marichal D. Francisco Coutinho, he received justice. D. Francisco and Lopo de Brito were forced to return to Portugal.²⁰⁴

The resentment which Afonso de Albuquerque must have felt towards Cannanore was probably influenced by the bad memories of this enforced stay, but more especially by all the factors which had contributed to his indignation. During the three months wait he had plenty of time to assess the *feitória's* meagre profit, to unravel all the intrigues and to recognize the inconsistency of the Kōḷaṭhiri and the hostile resolve of the Muslim authorities.

Notes and References

- ¹ Barros, I/8-2, pp. 305-8.
- ² Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, Leipzig, 1885-6, vol. 2, pp. 520-1; Priuli, *Diarii*, vol. 2, p. 185; Godinho, *Economie*, pp. 731-5.
- ³ Priuli, *ibid.*, pp. 335-40.
- ⁴ Priuli, *ibid.*, pp. 342-53; Barros, I/8-2, pp. 305-7.
- ⁵ Cf. Ch-M. de Witte, 'Un projet portugais de reconquête de la Terre Sainte (1505-7)' in *Actas do Congresso internacional de historia dos descobrimentos*, V/1, Lisbonne, 1961, pp. 419-49.
- ⁶ Barros, I/8-3, pp. 309-10; Castanheda, II/1, pp. 207-9; Góis, II/1, p. 1-2.
- ⁷ Regimento que levou D. Francisco de Almeida quando foi por capitão mor para a Índia, 5 March 1505, CA, II, pp. 272-334.
- ⁸ Gaspar da Índia to D. Manuel, s.l.n.d. (1505), CA, III, p. 201; Castanheda, II/9, p. 228.
- ⁹ Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, Cochim, 21 Sept. 1505, CA, II, p. 341. Cf. also Heras, 'Early Relations between Vijayanagar and Portugal', *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, 16/2 (1925), pp. 63-74.
- ¹⁰ Pero Fernandes Tinoco, loc. cit., pp. 341-2; regimento, 5 Feb. 1505, CA, II, pp. 295-6, 327.
- ¹¹ Regimento, 5 March 1505, CA, II, pp. 296, 313. For the conflicts between Vênād and Vijayanagar, cf. Bras, I/3, p. 8; Castanheda, I/61, p. 126; A. S. Menon, *Kerala District Gazetteer, Quilon*, Trivandrum, 1964, p. 111; Pate, *Gazetteer of Tinnevely District*, Madras, 1917, vol. 1, p. 58.
- ¹² Castanheda, II/15, p. 241; Correia, I/2, p. 582; Góis, II/5, p. 20.
- ¹³ Gaspar da Índia to D. Manuel, s.l.n.d. (1505), CA, III, p. 202.
- ¹⁴ Regimento, 5 March 1505, CA, II, p. 295; Gaspar da Índia, *ibid.*, CA, III, p. 201.
- ¹⁵ Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, Cochim, 21 Nov. 1505, CA, II, p. 343; Castanheda, II/17, p. 249; Correia, I/2, pp. 580-1; Góis, II/7, pp. 24-5; *Crónica*, p. 136.
- ¹⁶ Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, *ibid.*
- ¹⁷ Gaspar da Índia to D. Manuel, s.l.n.d. (1505), CA, III, p. 202; Castanheda, II/17, p. 251; Barros, I/9-4, p. 378; Góis, II/7, p. 25; *Crónica*, p. 135. According to Figueroa (in Augur, p. 67) and Correia (I/2, p. 583) the Viceroy only requested of the Kōlāthiri that the *feitoria* be strengthened and then transformed it into a fortress, leaving the king with the fait accompli.
- ¹⁸ Castanheda, II/17, p. 251.
- ¹⁹ Sewell, *List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Madras, 1882, p. 241; Innes-Evans, *Malabar District Gazetteer, Malabar*, Madras, 1951, p. 240.
- ²⁰ Gaspar da Índia to D. Manuel, Cochim, 16 Nov. 1506, CA, II, p. 371. João da Nova wrote: 'a melhor fortaleza que ha no mundo, que he de Cananor' (João da Nova to D. Manuel, sumário, 5 March 1509, CA, II, p. 398). Varthema qualified this with 'strongly fortified castle' (p. 141).
- ²¹ Pero Fernandes Tinoco, s.l., 15 Jan. 15(06), CA, III, p. 172. He was finally sent to Vijayanagar in December 1508 (conhecimento, Cannanore, 4 Dec. 1508, TdT, CC II-16-13).

²² Castanheda, II/17, p. 251; Barros, I/9–4, p. 378; Góis, II/7, p. 25; Correia, I/2, p. 728; Figueroa/Augur adds a galley to these two ships (p. 66).

²³ Lourenço de Brito must initially have been captain of the Kollam fortress (Regimento, 5 March 1505, CA, II, p. 312; Castanheda II/7, p. 251).

A statement of the accounts, transcribed by Simão Botelho from an undated document which was probably written after the fortress had been constructed, gives a breakdown of the wages. The captain received 400,000 *reis* per annum, the *feitor* and the *alcaide-mor* 100,000 *reis* each, the secretary 30,000 *reis*, the steward in charge of the warehouses and provisions 20,000 *reis*, his secretary 15,000 *reis*; the officer of justice 15,000 *reis*, his four soldiers 3,600 *reis* each; the night watchman 18,000 *reis* and 4,800 *reis* worth of provisions; the porter 12,000 *reis*, the gaoler 12,000 *reis*; the chaplain 20,000 *reis*; the four *beneficiados* 12,000 *reis* each. A further 18,000 *reis* were allocated to the church (wine, wax, wheat, oil, laundering); and 36,000 *reis* for alms. (Simão Botelho, '*Tombo do Estado da Índia*', 1554, in *Susbsídios para a historia da Índia Portuguesa* ed. R. J. de Lima Feiner, Lisbon, 1868, pp. 29–30).

²⁴ Regimento, 1505, CA, II, p. 326; Castanheda, II/21, p. 256. D. Manuel had great respect for Gonçalo Gil Barbosa and advised Lopo Soares (Undated document, CA, III, pp. 191–2) as well as D. Francisco (Regimento, 5 March 1505, CA, II, p. 327) to trust his judgement.

²⁵ Castanheda, II/27, p. 251.

²⁶ Regimento, 5 March 1505, CA, II, p. 318.

²⁷ Castanheda, II/13, p. 236, II/14, pp. 237–9; Barros, I/8–10, pp. 343 and 346; Góis, II/4, pp. 16–19; Correia, I/2, pp. 565–6, 578–9.

²⁸ Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, Cochin, 18 Nov. 1505, CA, II, p. 340; Castanheda, II/18–19, pp. 252–5; Barros, I/9–4, pp. 379–81; Góis, II/7, pp. 25–6.

²⁹ Twenty-seven according to Figueroa (in Augur, p. 67), Castanheda (II/9, p. 253) and Góis (II/7, p. 26); twenty-four according to Pero Fernandes Tinoco (CA, II, p. 340) and Barros (I/9–4, p. 380).

³⁰ The Kōlāthiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, p. 401.

³¹ Castanheda, II/19, p. 254.

³² The Kōlāthiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, p. 401.

³³ The Kōlāthiri to D. Manuel, s.l., TdT, Cartas orientais No. 50. Apart from João da Nova, Gonçalo Gil and Brother Luis witnessed these events (Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, s.l., 15 Jan. 15 (06), CA, III, p. 176) and probably also D. Lourenço and Gaspar da Índia (Gaspar Pereira to D. Manuel, Cochin, 11 Jan. 1506, CA, II, pp. 360 and 368).

³⁴ The Kōlāthiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, p. 401.

³⁵ Gaspar Pereira to D. Manuel, Cochin, 11 Jan. 1506, CA, II, pp. 359–60.

³⁶ *Vide infra*, the 'natory' prince's claims to the throne, note 114.

³⁷ Gaspar Pereira to D. Manuel, *ibid*; Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, s.l., 15 Jan. 15 (06), CA, III, p. 176.

³⁸ *Ibid*.

³⁹ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, pp. 38 and 55.

⁴⁰ Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, Cochin, 21 Nov. 1505, CA, II, pp. 341–4; the same to the same, s.l., 15 Jan. 15 (06), CA, III, pp. 170–3. The conflict between Pero Fernandes Tinoco and the Viceroy become so serious that the latter had to justify himself by showing the text of his regimento (D. Francisco

de Almeida to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 5 Dec. 1508, quoted by Correia, I/2, pp. 902–3).

⁴¹ Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, s.l., 15 Jan. 1506, CA, III, pp. 171–2. It should be noted that the Viceroy had the right to appoint his *alcaldes* (Regimento 5 March 1505, CA, II, p. 321). Guadalajara was only the nickname of a character whose real identity is not known (Castanheda, II/48, p. 313; Góis, II/16, p. 53) and whom Correia portrayed as being outwardly friendly: '*era muyto gracioso em seu falar e muy valente cavalleiro*' (I/2, p. 699).

⁴² Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, Cochín, 21 Nov. 1505, CA, II, p. 343. The author of this letter was referred to as a 'trouble maker' by the Viceroy (D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 5 Dec. 1508, quoted by Correia, I/2, p. 902).

⁴³ Gaspar da Índia to D. Manuel, s.l.n.d. (1505) CA, III, pp. 203–4.

⁴⁴ The Kōlāthiri to D. Manuel, TdT, Cartas orientais No. 50.

⁴⁵ Correia, I/2, p. 582.

⁴⁶ The regimento advised D. Francisco that they should be punctilious in paying their dues to the Indian sovereigns (CA, II, p. 329) but that they should not give them any presents (*ibid.*, p. 326). According to Castanheda (II/7, p. 250) and Correia (I/2, p. 583), the Viceroy did in fact give the Kōlāthiri some pieces of the Mombassa booty. Gaspar Correia writes on several occasions that the Kōlāthiri received his share of the maritime takings (I/1, pp. 373, 412) although the sovereigns' share was not provided for in the 1505 regimento (CA, II, pp. 325–6). According to Castanheda, the Viceroy asked the Kōlāthiri for the reciprocal abolition of all duties, claiming he would make no demands and refrain from making any conquests (Castanheda, II/7, p. 250). Although it is not known exactly how many benefits the Kōlāthiri drew from his alliance with Portugal, he certainly received an income of three hundred *pardaos* per annum, that is 90,000 *reis*, a figure which was uncovered by Simão Botelho from an undated document, probably post 1505 (*Tombo do Estado da Índia*, loc. cit., p. 30).

⁴⁷ The Kōlāthiri to D. Manuel, TdT, Cartas orientais No. 50.

⁴⁸ Gaspar Pereira to D. Manuel, Cochín, 11 Jan. 1506, CA, II, p. 361.

⁴⁹ Barros, I/10–4, p. 407; Castanheda II/24, p. 263; Correia, I/2, pp. 619–23.

⁵⁰ Barros, I/8–10, pp. 346–8; Castanheda, II/9, pp. 233–4; Correia, I/2, pp. 565–79.

⁵¹ Correia, I/2, p. 622.

⁵² Correia, I/2, pp. 621–3.

⁵³ Correia, I/2, p. 622.

⁵⁴ Gaspar da Índia to D. Manuel, Cochín, 16 Nov. 1506, CA, II, p. 378; Barros, II/1–4, p. 27.

⁵⁵ Barros, I/10–4, p. 406.

⁵⁶ The date of 6 December is given by Varthema himself who adds that he was then sent to see the Viceroy on the galley commanded by João Serrão (Varthema/Schefer, pp. 262–8). In fact João Serrão made a voyage to Cochín just before the Cannanore riots broke out in December. (Gaspar Pereira to D. Manuel, Cochín, 11 January 1506, CA, II, p. 360). According to the chroniclers the interview between Varthema and D. Lourenço took place in February 1506 (Castanheda, II/24, p. 264; Barros, dating according to the context, I/10–4, p. 407; Góis, II/12, pp. 39–40).

⁵⁷ According to the account written by Ludovico di Varthema (ed. Schefer, pp. 272–3) who was involved in the battle. It agrees in the main with Castanheda's account, but according to the latter the Calicut fleet arrived on 15 March (II/25, p. 265), to Barros on 17 (I/10–14, p. 412), to Figueroa on 12 (in Augur, p. 265).

⁵⁸ This comparison is found in the texts of both Varthema (p. 273) and Castanheda (II/25, p. 68).

⁵⁹ On the one hand eleven ships (four 'naos', five caravels and two galleys) carrying seven hundred men in total (*Crónica*), p. 146. On the other hand (Varthema's version) two hundred and nine, of which eighty were 'large ships' (p. 273). Castanheda gives a figure of two hundred and eighty vessels specifying eighty-four large ships and one hundred and twenty-four *paraos* which actually makes a total of two hundred and eight; Góis gives the same figures (II/2, p. 40), whereas the *Crónica* has them down as sixty 'naos', eighty *sambucos* and one hundred and fifty *paraos*.

⁶⁰ Varthema/Schefer, p. 274; Castanheda, II/25, p. 266.

⁶¹ Barros, I/10–4, p. 409.

⁶² Varthema/Schefer, p. 274.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 274; Castanheda, II/25, pp. 265–6.

⁶⁴ Castanheda, II/25, p. 265.

⁶⁵ Varthema/Schefer, p. 275.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 275; Castanheda, II/26, p. 266.

⁶⁸ Varthema/Schefer, pp. 276–7; Barros, I/10–4, pp. 408–11; Castanheda, II/26, pp. 266–70.

⁶⁹ Varthema/Schefer, pp. 277–8.

⁷⁰ Barros, I/10–4, p. 412; Castanheda, II/26, p. 270.

⁷¹ Barros, I/10–4, pp. 410, 412.

⁷² Varthema/Schefer, p. 278; Barros, I/10–4, p. 412; Castanheda, II/26, p. 269.

⁷³ D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, sumário, 27 December 1506, CA, II, pp. 391–7.

⁷⁴ This question has already been discussed in *Les rois de Kōttē au début du XVIe siècle (Mare Luso-indicum, vol. 1 (1971), pp. 74–5)* using the dates given by Martin Fernandez de Figueroa (in Augur, p. 68) and Gaspar Correia (I/2, p. 646). According to both these authors this expedition took place in August–September 1506, whereas according to Barros it occurred in the spring of the same year (I/10–5, p. 414), and according to Castanheda and Góis in November 1505 (II/23, p. 256 and II/11, p. 36).

⁷⁵ Gaspar da India to D. Manuel, s.l., 16 Nov. 1506, CA, II, pp. 372–80.

⁷⁶ Correia, I/2, p. 624.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 643.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 624.

⁷⁹ D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, sumário, 27 December 1506, CA II, pp. 391, 395.

⁸⁰ Correia, I/2, p. 624.

⁸¹ Correia, I/1, p. 183. Since 1508 the Portuguese had been able to purchase corn in Chaul in exchange for various goods—25 *reis* worth of goods for one *alqueire* of corn (D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, 5 Dec. 1508, quoted by Correia, I/2, p. 914; Figueroa/Augur, p. 96).

⁸² D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, sumário, 27 Dec. 1506, CA, II, p. 394; Gonçalo Fernandes to D. Manuel, Cochim, 17 Nov. 1506, CA, II, p. 382.

⁸³ Castanheda, II/28, p. 272.

⁸⁴ The king of Cochim to D. Manuel, s.l. (1509), CA, IV, p. 44 'e o Visso-rey mandava matar muytas vacas, e eu mandava me queixar a elle... E esta he a mor desonrra que nesta terra he'.

⁸⁵ Gaspar da India to D. Manuel, s.l., 16 Nov. 1506, CA, II, p. 373.

⁸⁶ Gaspar da India to D. Manuel, *ibid.*, pp. 372–4. The town of Mombassa had been pillaged in August 1505.

⁸⁷ Varthema/Schefer, p. 280.

⁸⁸ Gaspar da India to D. Manuel, *ibid.*, pp. 372–5. Strict regulations controlled the purchase of personal goods, cf. regimento, 5 March 1505, CA, II, pp. 308–10.

⁸⁹ D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, sumário, 27 Dec. 1506, CA, II, p. 391.

⁹⁰ Regimento, 5 March 1505, CA, II, p. 319.

⁹¹ Correia, I/2, p. 624.

⁹² Bulle 'Sedes Aposolica benigna', Rome, 4 July 1505, *Corpo Diplomatico Portugues*, ed. L. A. Rebelo da Silva, Lisbon, 1862, vol. 1, p. 59; brief 'Desideras ut nobis', Rome, 2 April 1506, *ibid.*, p. 97.

⁹³ Correia, I/2, p. 624.

⁹⁴ The Kōlāthiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, p. 402.

⁹⁵ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 50.

⁹⁶ Correia, I/2, pp. 524–625.

⁹⁷ The Kōlāthiri to D. Manuel, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 401.

⁹⁹ Correia, I/1, pp. 341–2.

¹⁰⁰ Mandado, Cannanore, 26 Jan. 1504, CA, II, p. 49.

¹⁰¹ D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, sumário, 27 Dec. 1506, CA, II, p. 391; Barros, I/10–5, p. 414; Castanheda, II/23, p. 256; Góis, II/11, p. 36.

In 1502 the educated Court circles had expressed an interest in the publication of Valentim Fernandes' work entitled 'Marco Paulo, ho livro de Nycolao veneto e trallado da carta de hũu genoves das ditas terras, imprimado per Valentim Fernandes alemão, Lyxboa, 4 Feb. 1502'. This 'trallado' was none other than Girolamo da Santo Stefano's text containing the first description known to the West of the Maldive archipelago.

¹⁰² Cf. G. Bouchon, 'Les rois de Kōtṭē au début du XVIe siècle', in *MLI*, vol. 1 (1971), p. 75.

¹⁰³ D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, sumário, 27 Dec. 1506, CA, II, p. 393; Gaspar da India to D. Manuel, s.l., 16 Nov. 1506, CA, II, pp. 379–80. D. Lourenço's proposed mission to Ormuz is also mentioned in the sumário of 6 Feb. 1507, CA, I, 416.

¹⁰⁴ Gaspar da India, *loc. cit.*, p. 380.

¹⁰⁵ Barros, II/1–1 to 3, pp. 1–26; Castanheda, II/30–31, pp. 276–81; Correia I/2, pp. 659–88; Góis, II/15, p. 47.

¹⁰⁶ D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, sumário, 27 Dec. 1506, CA, II, p. 391; Barros, II/1–4, p. 27.

¹⁰⁷ Barros, II/1–4, pp. 26–7.

¹⁰⁸ This was how the Anatolians who fought in the Mameluke army were

nicknamed.

¹⁰⁹ Gonçalo Fernandes to D. Manuel, Cochin, 17 Nov. 1506, CA, II, p. 382.

¹¹⁰ D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, sumário, 27 Dec. 1506, CA, II, p. 391; Barros, I/10–4, pp. 412–13; Castanheda, II/32, p. 282; Góis, II/12, p. 42.

¹¹¹ Gaspar da India to D. Manuel, s.l., 16 Nov. 1506, CA, II, p. 372.

¹¹² Lourenço de Brito to D. Manuel, sumário, Jan. 1507, CA, II, p. 397.

¹¹³ This prince was so Islamized that he wore a long beard like the Muslims (Pires, vol. 2, p. 359).

¹¹⁴ The unsuccessful pretender referred to in the chronicles and the 'Natorym' in the archives are one and the same. This is evident from the sumário of Antonio de Saldanha's letters, CA, III, p. 334, in which the claims to the throne made by the 'notory, principe de cananor', are clearly set out. He is also described as 'a principe de Cananor ha nome Natyrym' in the *Crónica*, p. 158.

¹¹⁵ The Kōlāthiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, p. 401; Castanheda, I/14, p. 37. This is confirmed by Barbosa, who states that this retreat lasted thirteen days, during which time a *Kaimal* dealt with the day to day affairs. For a whole year the king had to abstain from betel and could not cut his hair, his beard or his nails (Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, pp. 12–14).

¹¹⁶ The Kōlāthiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, pp. 401–2; *Crónica*, p. 157; Castanheda, II/43, p. 304; Barros, II/1–4, pp. 27–8; Góis, II/15, p. 48. Following this incident the Viceroy withdrew from Gonçalo Vaz de Góis the command of his ship (Barros, II/1–4, p. 28). Correia gives a different version of the facts; according to him D. Lourenço sank two Calicut ships (I/2, pp. 691–8). Seguro = safe conduct.

¹¹⁷ Barros, II/1–5, p. 31; Góis, II/15, p. 48.

¹¹⁸ Timoji to D. Francisco de Almeida, s.l.n.d., TdT, CVR No. 89; D. João da Silveira to D. Manuel, (Colombo), 27 Oct. 1519, TdT, CC I-25–58, f. 2 a, of which a resume is given in *Alg. Doc.* p. 436, doc. 2 hereafter; António de Miranda de Azevedo to D. Manuel, (Colombo), 8 Nov. 1519, in *As Gavetas*, vol. 4, p. 143; conhecimento, (Colombo), 15 Sept. 1520, TdT, CC II-92–106; Cristovão Lourenço to D. Manuel, Cochin, 13 Jan. 1522, published in *MLI*, vol. 1 (1971), pp. 166–7; Inquirição (Colombo), 23 Jan. 1522, TdT, CC II-99–102, f. 3 a, doc. 4 hereafter; Poca Amame to D. João III, Cannanore, 14 Jan. 1528, TdT, CC I-38–84, f. 1 a, doc. 6 hereafter, and all Afonso de Albuquerque's letters referred to in the following chapter.

¹¹⁹ João de Avila to D. Manuel, sumário, Cannanore c. 1510, CA, III, p. 323.

¹²⁰ Barros, II/1–5, p. 31; Góis, II/15, p. 48.

¹²¹ Pires, vol. 2, p. 359.

¹²² Varthema/Schefer, p. 282.

¹²³ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of South India*, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 491.

¹²⁴ Pires, vol. 2, p. 359. This hypothesis is based on the fact that the traditional name given to the Alī Rājas was Arakkal, the name by which their palace was still known at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Logan, vol. 1, p. 359). It is doubtful whether Mamale bore the title of Marakkar; although it was frequently employed in Calicut and Cochin it was not a title found among the Kōlāthunāḍ Muslims.

¹²⁵ Barros, II/1–5, p. 31; Góis, II/15, p. 48. According to the *Crónica*, the Viceroy ordered an investigation which the Kōlāthiri refused to carry out (p. 157).

¹²⁶ Góis, II/15, p. 48.

¹²⁷ Varthema/Schefer, p. 280; Castanheda, II/43, p. 304; Góis, II/15, p. 49. Close family ties linked the Arakkāls to the Calicut Muslims, as the women of this family were obliged to marry men from that town or from Tellicherry who, according to the *marumakkatāyam* custom, had to follow their wives and settle in Cannanore. (D'Souza, Social 'Organisation and Marriage Customs of the Moplahs on the South West Coast of India', *Anthropos*, vol. 54 (1959), pp. 487–516).

¹²⁸ Figueroa/Augur, p. 68.

¹²⁹ K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India, and South Indian History and Culture*, Poona, 1941, vol. 1, pp. 108–17; N. Sastri, *A History of South India*, 1966, p. 277.

¹³⁰ Castanheda, II/43, p. 305; Barros, II/1–5, p. 32; Góis, II/15, p. 49.

¹³¹ *Crónica* p. 158; Castanheda, II/43, p. 304; Barros, II/1–5, p. 32; Góis, II/15, p. 49. To understand the chronicles all of which affirm that the ditch was dug out between the town and the well—which would have been absurd—the layout of Cannanore should be studied. The town was situated on the bay and was closed to the south-west by the protruding headland. The ditch did not separate the well from the town, but must have been dug out in the space between the town and the fortress.

¹³² The range of a cross-bow according to Varthema (ed. Schefer, p. 281).

¹³³ Castanheda, II/43, p. 305; Correia, I/2, p. 692.

¹³⁴ Correia, I/2, p. 694.

¹³⁵ Barros, II/1–5, p. 32.

¹³⁶ Barros, *ibid.*

¹³⁷ Barros, II/1–5, p. 32; *Crónica* p. 158; Castanheda, II/45, p. 307; Góis, II/16, p. 50.

¹³⁸ Correia, I/2, pp. 701–2.

¹³⁹ Castanheda, II/45, p. 308.

¹⁴⁰ Correia, I/2, p. 702.

¹⁴¹ Castanheda, II/45, p. 305; Barros, II/1–5, p. 32; Góis, II/15, p. 50.

¹⁴² Varthema/Schefer, p. 280.

¹⁴³ 200 men in all according to Varthema (ed. Schefer, p. 280), 400 men according to Castanheda (II/43, p. 305) and Góis (II/15, p. 50).

¹⁴⁴ Castanheda, II/48, p. 314; Barros, II/1–5, p. 36; Góis, II/16, p. 53.

¹⁴⁵ 80 men who took it in turns to keep watch, at the palisade and at the headland (Castanheda, II/45, p. 307); six captaincies of 50 to 60 men each (Correia, I/2, p. 701).

¹⁴⁶ Castanheda, II/45, p. 307.

¹⁴⁷ Varthema/Schefer, p. 280.

¹⁴⁸ Correia, I/2, p. 702.

¹⁴⁹ Varthema/Schefer, pp. 280–1. Góis gives the same date, II/16, p. 50.

¹⁵⁰ The Kōlāthiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, pp. 401–2.

¹⁵¹ Varthema/Schefer, p. 281; Castanheda, II/45, p. 307.

¹⁵² Castanheda, II/45, pp. 308–9; Barros, II/1–5, pp. 32–3; Góis, II/16, pp. 50–1. The tactic of exhausting the enemy through thirst was classic in India (Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, New York, 1954, p. 134).

¹⁵³ Barros, II/1–5, p. 33; Castanheda, II/46, p. 309; Correia, I/2, p. 702.

¹⁵⁴ Barros, II/1–5, p. 33; Castanheda, II/46, pp. 309–10; Góis, II/16, p. 51.

¹⁵⁵ *Crónica* p. 158; Barros, II/1–5, p. 33; Góis, II/16, p. 51. According to

Castanheda only one almadia (II/46, p. 310).

¹⁵⁶ Castanheda, II/46, p. 310; Góis, II/16, p. 52.

¹⁵⁷ Castanheda, II/47, p. 311; Góis, II/16, p. 52.

¹⁵⁸ Barros, II/1-5, p. 33.

¹⁵⁹ Castanheda, II/47, p. 312.

¹⁶⁰ Barros, II/1-5, p. 34; Castanheda, II/47, pp. 311-12; Góis, II/16, p. 52.

¹⁶¹ Castanheda, II/47, p. 312.

¹⁶² Barros, II/1-5, p. 34; Castanheda, II/47, p. 312; Góis, II/16, p. 52.

¹⁶³ A piece of artillery which Balarin de Raconis translates by 'the Serpent' (in Varthema/Schefer, p. 281) and which must have been some kind of large cannon. Three of these guns came from Portugal with the Viceroy's armada, 'Relação da artilheria que foi pera India na armada de D. Francisco de Almeida', in *Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Mocambique e na Africa*, Lisbon, 1962, vol. 1, p. 138.

¹⁶⁴ Barros, II/1-5, p. 34; Castanheda, II/47, p. 312; Góis, II/16, p. 53.

¹⁶⁵ Barros, II/1-5, p. 34.

¹⁶⁶ The *camelo* (= camel) fired cannon balls of 10 to 12 kilos. Some specimens are exhibited in the Lisbon military museum.

¹⁶⁷ Barros, II/1-5, p. 34; Castanheda II/48, p. 314; Góis, II/16, pp. 53-4.

¹⁶⁸ This translation of the Portuguese expression 'gente baixa' requires an explanation. These were not just people of low caste who had joined the Portuguese ranks, but all the unstable elements of the army who might be tempted to respond to offers made by the enemy. D. Francisco de Almeida made known to the king the danger of such desertions and the importance of the advantages offered to renegades (D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 5 Dec. 1508, quoted by Correia, I/2, pp. 913 and 920). Deserters were considered to be so useful to the ancient Indian army that there was a special corps for them (Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 128).

¹⁶⁹ Barros, II/1-5, p. 34; Castanheda II/49, pp. 315-16 and 50, p. 318; Góis, II/17, p. 54.

¹⁷⁰ Castanheda, II/50, p. 318.

¹⁷¹ Castanheda, II/49, pp. 316-17; Góis, II/17, p. 54-5.

¹⁷² Barros, II/1-5, p. 35; Castanheda, II/50, p. 318; Góis, II/17, p. 55.

¹⁷³ Barros, II/1-5, p. 35; Castanheda, II/50, p. 318-19; Góis, II/17, p. 55. These crustacea are periodically thrown onto rocks of the headland (Innes-Evans, *Madras District Gazetteers, Malabar*, Madras, 1951, vol. 1, p. 420).

¹⁷⁴ Barros, II/1-5, p. 36; Castanheda, II/51, p. 319-21; Góis, II/17, p. 55-6. These chroniclers estimate the entire enemy forces at fifty thousand men.

¹⁷⁵ Castanheda, II/52, p. 321; Góis II/17, p. 56.

¹⁷⁶ Varthema/Schefer, p. 282; Barros, II/1-5, p. 36; Castanheda, II/52, p. 322; Góis, II/17, p. 56-7

¹⁷⁷ 'All equipped with white harnois' (Varthema/Schefer, p. 282). A 'white harnois' was an ordinary polished iron breast plate.

¹⁷⁸ Varthema/Schefer, p. 282.

¹⁷⁹ The Kōlāthiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1607, CA, II, pp. 400-2.

¹⁸⁰ Góis II/16, p. 53. On Damião de Góis' stay in Antwerp, cf. M. Bataillon, *Le cosmopolitisme de Damião de Góis*, in *Études sur le Portugal au temps de l'Humanisme*, Coimbre, 1952, pp. 156-62. Rutger de Gueldre was still *condestabre* of Cannanore on 8 Nov. 1510 (mandado, *Flor de la mar*, CA, II, p. 74), before

being transferred to Goa (mandado, Goa, 18 Nov. 1512, CA, II, p. 99). D. Manuel rewarded him for his services by making him a knight, Carta de D. Manuel confirmando o grau de cavalheiro a Rogel de Gueldre, Lisbon, 13 Dec. 1515, published by Sousa Viterbo, 'Estados sobre Damião de Góis', *O Instituto*, vol. 47 (1900), p. 379.

¹⁸¹ Among others that of someone who had been at the Cannanore *feitoria* since 1503 and whom Castanheda refers to as João de Avila (I/48, p. 102). *Vide supra*, chap. III, n. 80.

¹⁸² The original edition of the Varthema's Itinerario is dated, Roma, 1510.

¹⁸³ Their presence at these councils, confirmed by tradition (*vide supra*, chap. I, p. 36), is endorsed from this period by several letters 'Cartas orientais da Torre do Tombo'.

¹⁸⁴ On the role of the Brahmins during the 1503-4 war, cf. in particular Castanheda, I/70, p. 187, p. 142.

¹⁸⁵ The king of Calicut himself took part in some of the battles in this war (Castanheda, I/75, pp. 157-60).

¹⁸⁶ Castanheda, II/chaps 53-6, 66-70, 72-4.

¹⁸⁷ The Kōlaṭhiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, pp. 400-2.

¹⁸⁸ A mandado dated 25 Oct. 1508 refers to this clause (TdT, CC II-15-102).

¹⁸⁹ Cf. J. Aubin, Albuquerque et les négociations de Cambaye, in *MLI*, vol. 1 (1971) pp. 12-17.

¹⁹⁰ '...que ElRey mandase tall armada que desfezese todas as naas da Índia porque doutra maneira não pode ser senhor della. ...' (Diogo Fernandes Correia to Afonso de Albuquerque, Cochim, 25 Dec. 1503, CA, III, p. 212); '...toda vossa força seja no mar. ...Saiba certo que em quanto no mar fordes poderoso tereys a Índia por vossa, e se isto não tiverdes no mar, pouco vos prestará a fortaleza na terra' (D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 5 Dec. 1508, quoted by Correia, I/2, pp. 906-7).

¹⁹¹ Castanheda, II/102, pp. 441-2.

¹⁹² Castanheda, III/43, p. 107.

¹⁹³ Castanheda, II/102, p. 442.

¹⁹⁴ According to Correia, the fortress was then rebuilt in stone (I/2, pp. 714-15, 727-31). As the testimonies of 1505 agree that it was very strong built, the Viceroy probably carried out some repairs and re-arrangements.

¹⁹⁵ Correia, I/2, pp. 728-9. The existence of the Cannanore powder factory is confirmed as early as 1510 by a mandado (from the *Frol de la Mar*, 8 Feb. 1510, CA, II, p. 74).

¹⁹⁶ Recibo, 16 Aug. 1510, in Silva Rego, *Documentação para a história do padroado português do Oriente*, Lisbon, 1947, vol. 1, doc. 32.

¹⁹⁷ Correia, I/2, p. 729.

¹⁹⁸ Castanheda, II/92, p. 419.

¹⁹⁹ D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 5 Dec. 1508, quoted by Correia, I/2, p. 919.

²⁰⁰ Gonçalo Mendes was *feitor* of Cannanore from 6 Nov. 1508 until the end of 1512 (Braamcamp Freire, 'Cartas de quitação del-Rei D. Manuel', in *Arquivo histórico português*, vol. 3 (1905) pp. 75-6).

²⁰¹ Castanheda, II/93, p. 421; D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 5 Dec. 1508, quoted by Correia, I/2, p. 921.

²⁰² Mandado, Cochin, 9 Sept. 1509, CA, III, p. 306.

²⁰³ Castanheda, II/118–19, pp. 474–7.

²⁰⁴ Both were to be massacred some weeks later by a group of Kafirs from South Africa (Castanheda, II/123, p. 485; Figueroa/Augur, p. 152).

V. Mamale and Albuquerque

Afonso de Albuquerque's adventurous spirit was apparent from the moment he came to power. Within a month of his departure from Cannanore he had become embroiled in raid on Calicut but had to abandon his attempt to take control of the town.¹ A few weeks later he commissioned a fleet of twenty-two ships and headed for the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf to consolidate the Portuguese position there.² On 6 February 1510 he stopped in Cannanore for the purpose of handing over the command of the fortress to Rodrigo Rabelo.³ He also took the opportunity to despatch Frei Luis to Vijayanagar⁴ to reassure the sovereign that the Portuguese designs on Ormuz did not conflict with his interests and that horses would continue to be shipped to his ports.⁵ But the planned expedition was soon forced to change course; while the squadron was sailing towards Honāvar,⁶ Timoji made contact with the Governor and renewed the warning he had given to the Viceroy some months earlier.⁷ The Sabayo of Goa had commissioned a powerful fleet, manned by 'turcos',⁸ which was intent on destroying the king of Portugal's bases.⁹ The operation in hand was therefore cut short and the conquest of Goa now became the objective. The Sabayo had just died and Isma'il Ādil Khān, his successor, was busy defending his inland borders.¹⁰ Afonso de Albuquerque immediately saw the advantage to the Portuguese of having a stronghold in preference to the tolerable, but unstable alliance with the Malabar kings. During a council held off Mount Eli on board the *Frol de la Mar* he succeeded in persuading most of the captains to head for Goa.¹¹

The operation had been kept a secret¹² and there was therefore considerable surprise all along the coast when it was learnt that Goa, the port of horses, over which the Bahmanid princes and the Vijayanagar rājas had been fighting, had yielded to the Portuguese without resistance. This news disturbed Mamale of Cannanore and the Kōḷaṭhiri who had formed an alliance with the Sabayo and had both offered to finance the campaign he had been preparing against the Portuguese. Mamale had not released the money he had promised, however,¹³ probably because the Goa pirates had seized one of his ships and massacred its crew.¹⁴

During the months following Albuquerque's entry into Goa, the Cannanore Muslims remained as reserved as the local sovereigns. The rāja of Bankāpur ignored the advances made by Albuquerque who offered to buy saddlery and harnessing in his country.¹⁵ Kriṣṇa Deva Rāya, who had just succeeded Narasiṃha, was in no hurry to support Goa which he hoped one day to recapture. He had turned a blind eye to the assassination on his own land of Frei Luís¹⁶ and deliberately delayed meeting with Lopo Chanoca, the ambassador sent by Albuquerque after the capture of Goa.¹⁷ The Governor was unaware that the Rāya was negotiating a truce with the Ādil Khān,¹⁸ who immediately sent his forces to Goa. For three months they besieged the Portuguese troops who found themselves trapped in the rivers of the town, all exits of which had been blocked by the monsoon.¹⁹

On 26 August Afonso de Albuquerque was forced to bring his exhausted men back to Cannanore.²⁰ This did not mean that he had given up his intention of conquering Goa, but he still had to win over his captains who found it hard to accept his intransigence and challenged his policy. The two parties whose conflicts were continually to impede Albuquerque's exploits were beginning to emerge at this time: that of the Governor, whose aim was to build an empire for Portugal, and that of the Malabar veterans who were slowly becoming somewhat Indianized and thought it wiser to follow the policies of the Viceroy and exploit the local resources.

The situation which Albuquerque found in Cannanore could only aggravate these differences. The hospital was overflowing with patients, some of whom had been there for three or four years, and in addition had to treat the wounded from Goa; and, although the army still contained professional soldiers, it was for the most part made up of New Christians who had come to try their luck in India but showed no enthusiasm for serving the king of Portugal.²¹ To add to this burden young men were being recruited who were not yet old enough to carry arms but nevertheless had to be paid and fed.²² Diogo Mendes de Vasconcelos' troops, who had arrived on 16 August, were despatched to Malacca. Duarte de Lemos' men arrived in Cannanore on 31 August, bringing bad news. The *Santa Cruz*,²³ which was returning from Socotra, had sunk off the coast of Cambay. Those who had survived had been taken prisoner at the court of Champaner, but the Governor's nephew, D. Afonso de Noronha, who had been on his way to take

up his post as captain of Cannanore, had been drowned. This disaster gave Afonso de Albuquerque the opportunity to negotiate with Gujarat, and his opponents the pretext to give these discussions priority over the Goa conquest.²⁴

There was concern not only for the councils which had to discuss this question but also for the local conflicts which had to be settled. The Cannanore citadel was the scene of the most dastardly plots at that time. A letter from the chaplain, Julião Nunes, dated 10 October 1510, exposed the persecution to which he had been subjected for trying to put a stop to the licentious behaviour of his priests. He had despatched one of them to serve on board the armada as he had been living openly with his mistress and the son he had fathered. He had banished another to Socotra for the same sin and for drunken behaviour, including the use of vulgar language in church. Rodrigo Rabelo—the kind of captain 'who wished to be adored like the gods'.²⁵—had requested that the latter be pardoned and had not forgiven Julião Nunes for refusing to do so. The captain did not accept that the chaplain had the right to pass judgment, even though it was claimed to have been received from the vicar-general, and dismissed him. Julião Nunes then sent Albuquerque a letter of protest which he entrusted to some Brahmins who were travelling to Goa. However, Rodrigo Rabelo managed to intercept this missive together with letters from the *feitoria's* secretary which exposed other scandals. He read them out before an assembled garrison and had those who had written them thrown in prison. The enquiry which followed was to bring to light copies of the letters which Julião Nunes had addressed to D. Manuel and which questioned the fortress authorities. When he knew the facts, the Governor became guarded as he did not wish to become involved in any scandal which might worsen his problems. Under the circumstances, he was content to refer the matter to the vicar-general and to promise to make amends to the chaplain who agreed to go with him to Goa.²⁶

The Cannanore authorities adopted a cautious position. The Kōḷaṭhiri's attitude was an apparently friendly one which had been encouraged with presents of jewels and sugar.²⁷ On 27 August he had entertained the Governor in a tent which had been pitched on the beach. Mamale, the Minister and some of the kindgom's dignitaries had also been present. Each had tried to exceed the courtesy of the other and Afonso de Albuquerque had symbolically

handed over to the king the keys of the fortress.²⁸ According to Gaspar Correia, the Governor followed up these discussions and sometime in September met with Mamale to negotiate the replacement of the mooring and ropes damaged by the rains and during the long spell spent in the rivers of Goa. Aware of Mamale's total control over the Maldives he ordered him to renounce it on the grounds that the archipelago, like Cannanore, was under the sovereignty of the king of Portugal. Rather than have his concessions questioned, Mamale made sure of the support of the Kōḷaṭhiri and Rodrigo Rabelo, offering to deliver every year to Cochin and Cannanore one hundred *bahars* of coarse fibre and another hundred of fine fibre.²⁹ It will later be seen that this generosity was inspired by a fear that the Portuguese would intervene in the affairs of the islands where a dynastic crisis had just erupted. Albuquerque, for his part, had urgent matters to attend to, therefore accepted the contract, being content to receive from Mamale a guarantee that all Portuguese and foreign travellers to the islands would be allowed to conduct their business freely.³⁰

It could be considered that the moderate attitude adopted by Mamale and the Kōḷaṭhiri was dictated by the uncertainties of the future. It was not yet known how the three men who had just come to power—Isma'il Ādil Khān, Albuquerque and Kriṣṇa Deva Rāya of Vijayanagar—would deal with the Malabar kingdoms. Furthermore, it was confirmed that the Mamelukes of Egypt were commissioning a new fleet of Rumes,³¹ while the kings of Ormuz and Cambay were coming to terms with the Portuguese. The confused political situation encouraged some to reach agreements, but the Portuguese party remained faithful. As he was suffering from leprosy,³² the Nātuvāri could no longer make a contribution and let Nambiar, who had been the previous Kōḷaṭhiri's Minister, rejoin the Governor's partisans. This character—the 'alguazil velho' of Portuguese texts,³³—had a following of about a hundred warriors.³⁴ This move, like the news of the break in the truce between the Ādil Khān and Kriṣṇa Deva Rāya,³⁵ inevitably influenced the councils which Albuquerque constantly convened in an attempt to get his captains to agree to recapture Goa. At the beginning of November the armada left Cannanore and headed north;³⁶ on 25 November Goa was conquered.³⁷

'Now the Governor has turned the key and opened the door of

India to his king' declared Mamale from Cochin when he heard the news.³⁸ Although to some it seemed precarious, Afonso de Albuquerque's success encouraged the authorities of Cannanore to pay court to D. Manuel. António Carneiro's *sumário* mentions seven letters, probably written in the last quarter of 1511 by members of the royal entourage as well as by the fortress agents.³⁹ It is regrettable that their content is only conveyed through a brief analysis which does not enable the facts to be placed in chronological order but merely lists the incidents and positions taken. The *regedor* boasted that his quarrels with the Zamorin would last 'until the judgment day'⁴⁰ because of his devotion to the Portuguese cause. The Nātuvāri, who considered himself to be the legitimate heir to the throne, declared a loyalty which earned him the enmity of his uncle the king. He promised D. Manuel two thousand *quintais* of pepper and four thousand of ginger each year, provided the latter put pressure on the Kōḷaṭhiri to have him appointed Minister.⁴¹ But at the same time João de Avila was advising his sovereign not to contemplate befriending a prince who was plagued by illness in preference to the Kōḷaṭhiri.⁴² In fact, the latter was openly making moves to improve his relations with D. Manuel whose letters were announced to the sound of trumpets before they were read out publicly and posted in the mosque.⁴³ He had responded to his gifts by sending an extremely valuable necklace and a delegation of two negotiators whose arrival in Lisbon was never confirmed.⁴⁴ He had foregone the opportunity of being paid in cash for the ginger and had allowed Rodrigo Rabelo to exchange it for Portuguese goods.⁴⁵ These concessions did not warrant the bad treatment he was receiving from the Portuguese and he complained to D. Manuel that several of his ships had been seized. One of them had been taken on the pretext that it was carrying two Calicut sailors, even though it had been authorized to sail and had been given a safe conduct by Rodrigo Rabelo.⁴⁶ Two others—loaded with rope and probably owned by Mamale—had been intercepted and searched and then allowed to proceed by order of the Governor who had paid for the goods.⁴⁷ Because of the lack of continuity in the text of the *sumário*, it is not clear if it was following this incident that part of the town was pillaged by the Portuguese and a sanctuary desecrated.⁴⁸ Two women, one of whom was betrothed to the Kōḷaṭhiri, had been abducted and forcibly baptized.⁴⁹ According to João de Avila, the sovereign's indignation, which was already acute, had reached its

peak when Afonso de Albuquerque had asked him for five thousand *cruzados* and the right to pass judgment on the Muslims.⁵⁰ This latter demand would have particular consequences for Mamale who was described in this same letter as '*justica dos mouros*';⁵¹ but it appears that he was never deprived of his rights in favour of the Governor.

The Kōlāṭhiri's grievances did not, however, lessen his interest in the economic expansion promised by Albuquerque's conquests and plans or from showing his wish to benefit from them. To compensate for the loss of money resulting from the new agreement on Portuguese goods, and the alienation of the horse trade, he asked D. Manuel for the right to supervise the safe conducts issued at the fortress so that he could put pressure on the Muslims and try to extract money from them. By gaining this kind of control, he would be able to find out which boats were going to collect ginger and separate those supplying Calicut. To render his collaboration more effective he asked D. Manuel to give him a gold ring bearing the royal seal which would validate documents in his absence, a favour which João de Avila dissuaded his king from granting.⁵² Finally, the Kōlāṭhiri requested a wider field of activity for the Cannanore merchant fleet, free access to Ormuz and protection for the horse traffic which was constantly being disrupted by the maritime activities of the Portuguese.⁵³ He suggested to D. Manuel that he strengthen the Calicut blockade, the result of which, he felt sure, would be to force the ships from Bengal, Sumatra and Malacca to go to Cannanore.⁵⁴ This view was shared by the *feitor* and the secretary who condemned the fact that the surveillance of Calicut had been relaxed; twenty-seven ships from Arabia had recently been loaded with goods and had returned to the Red Sea without let or hindrance. It was important in future to prevent them from turning towards the Oman Sea and so force the Indian merchants to place their goods in the Portuguese *feitorias*.⁵⁵

João da Avila's report to the king included the observation that trade was beginning to pick up again. He attributed this to the good will of the Kōlāṭhiri and the Governor,⁵⁶ although he made it clear that the advantage won in the political field was being jeopardized by the confusion reigning at the citadel. With the *feitor* and the chaplain he expressed deep regret that it was now overflowing with sick and crippled men whom nobody knew what to do with nor wanted to repatriate. Those who were fit enough made vain requests to be allowed to return to Lisbon

and complained that they had not been paid. Some deserted to the enemy and others married Indian women.⁵⁷ In five months Julião Nunes counted eight such marriages;⁵⁸ the small Christian community which had already formed the Chagas fraternity was in fact thriving on these unions.⁵⁹ The number of conversions angered the Kōḷaṭhiri, whose indignation was heightened by the fact that once they had become Christians his subjects no longer felt under any obligation to the Hindu community.⁶⁰

It is probable that the main cause of the excesses revealed in this correspondence was the crisis sparked off by the death of D. Afonso de Noronha who had been due to take over the fortress command. Three captains then succeeded each other in one year. In mid-December 1510, Rodrigo Rabelo was relieved by Manuel da Cunha,⁶¹ who had just been dubbed a knight on the Goa battle field.⁶² This young captain had no hesitation in opening the royal correspondence and letters addressed to Albuquerque, his purpose being to cover up the plots which his friend Duarte de Lemos had instigated against the Governor in Cochin.⁶³ The Kōḷaṭhiri's aversion to him resulted in his downfall;⁶⁴ he was dismissed, sent to live in Goa and replaced at the beginning of March by Diogo Correia.⁶⁵ The fact that the latter was a prisoner of the king of Cambay on parole did not embarrass Albuquerque, who was more concerned with halting the unrest among his captains and posting them judiciously before sailing for Malacca.

While the Malabar merchant communities were discussing the consequences of the capture of Goa, Mamale of Cannanore was being requested to deal with the dynastic struggles which were taking place on the islands. The *Ta'riḥ*, discovered in Malé by H. C. Bell, mentions a series of palace revolutions which occurred between H.915/1509 and H.918/1513. The dubious chronology of an apocryphal text more than three hundred years old would probably not have attracted any attention had not the Portuguese testimonies referred to the events recounted in them. It is quite clear that the Lusitanian writers never managed to break through the complexity of a crisis which spread right across a vast archipelago and of which they were only able to grasp the more significant incidents. Thus, in comparing the sources, the intention is not to piece together at any price facts whose sequence is unclear, but

simply to give an authenticity to certain characters, using the exact dates given in the Portuguese documents. It must be stressed that it is through the latter that the chief role played by Mamale of Cannanore in the history of the islands is brought to light.

None of the sources specifies the date of Mamale's first intervention in the affairs of the Maldives. All that is known is that in H.900/1494 the one known as the Āli Rāja of Cannanore in the *Ta'riḥ*—and who must be considered to be the leader of the town's Muslim community—had helped the Sultan Kalu Muḥammad to regain his throne which was occupied by his brother Yūsuf, then by his cousin Āli.⁶⁶ This fact was confirmed by Mamale, in 1512, when he explained to Albuquerque that the king of the Maldives had asked for his help against a usurper and had given him some islands by way of acknowledgement.⁶⁷ If the *Ta'riḥ* is to be believed, Kalu Muḥammad was indeed twice dethroned and twice reinstated by the Muslim chief of Cannanore—in H.900/1494 and H.918/1512⁶⁸—it is not clear which restoration Mamale referred to. The *Radavali* states that in 1494 Kalu Muḥammad had taken refuge in Cannanore,⁶⁹ and this was confirmed in 1512 by Albuquerque, who reported that Mamale had extorted from the dethroned Sultan all his privileges, detaining him in the town.⁷⁰ This fact is worth remembering, but there is nothing to suggest that it took place in 1494 rather than in 1512, or that the same circumstances were found on both occasions. If it is certain that the second intervention was the work of Mamale, the hypothesis that the first one was carried out by his predecessor cannot be excluded.

Whatever the sequence of events, it is certain that in 1512 Mamale was the principal and probably only beneficiary of the 1494 agreements and that such a privileged position helped to establish him as Cannanore's leader. At that time he was already carrying out the duties of 'justica' of the Muslims,⁷¹ which gave him superiority over 'Hacem Mohrmed', 'Pocaracem' and the others whose names appear on the Portuguese *mandados* and *recibos*,⁷² and even over 'Moussa Mame' whom João de Avila commended to the generosity of D. Manuel.⁷³ Like them, Mamale took an active part in the commercial activities of the city. It is known that he traded horses with the rājas of Vēṇāḍ⁷⁴ and that he sold rice to the Portuguese *feitorias*.⁷⁵ He was probably involved in other business transactions, but it is not clear what these were. The documents available all concur on the single objective of these activities: to

control the Maldives.

As a result of the Portuguese expansion, the commercial exploitation of the islands now underwent a new development. D. Francisco de Almeida had already been advised that a large number of Asian ships sailing from Indonesia were avoiding an encounter with the armadas by keeping away from the Malabar towns and using other ports of call. 'The pepper and drugs which go to the Levant', he wrote to D. Manuel in December 1508, 'do not come from this coast, but from Malacca, Sumatra and Pedir... and I am well aware of the route they take and when...'.⁷⁶ The Viceroy did not expressly name the Maldives in this letter but Castanheda claimed that he knew very well that the ships stopped there on their way from the Malay archipelago and that he had sent D. Lourenço there to seize them.⁷⁷

The Malabar ports were becoming increasingly deserted as a result of this shift which, given a successful campaign by Albuquerque in Malacca, was likely to become more pronounced. The Straits of Karaidu and Haddumati (opposite the ports of Sumatra) opened up another spice route to the Red Sea. By securing his hold on the islands, Mamale controlled a sea route to the West and disrupted the Portuguese plan by opening up markets outside their blockades. It is not known whether he was aware at that moment of the fullness of a scheme which he was to try and fulfil some years later. But it is certain that the prospect of the money to be made from the geographical position of the Maldives drove him to take the lion's share for himself when the troubles broke out in Male around 1510. These troubles suited him so well that it is tempting to believe that he instigated them.⁷⁸

According to the *Ta'riḥ*, the Sultan Kalu Muḥammad, of the Hilal dynasty, who had regained the Male throne in 1494, had reigned until H.915/1509, that is until a new conspiracy brought his nephew Ḥasan to power.⁷⁹ After some months the latter died of natural causes and was immediately succeeded by an Arab from Mecca, Ṣiḥ Aḥmad, who was deposed in his turn in H.918/1512-13 by Āli, Kalu Muḥammad's cousin. Āli's sister, Buraki Rani, who was also making a bid for the throne, decided to marry Kalu Muḥammad so that they could reign together. She joined him in Huvadu, the place to which he had been exiled by Āli, and made contact with the Portuguese authorities to make sure of their support. She had also bribed a devoted servant, Kalu Ibrahim of

Gafaru, to go to Male where he lured the Sultan Āli into an ambush, tied him up 'ham strung' and left him for dead.⁸⁰

The *Ta'riḥ* gives no hint as to the role played by Mamale of Cannanore in this family drama, whereas the Portuguese texts focus on this point and make it possible to ascertain the degree of accuracy of the Male chronicle. The three principal protagonists in the conspiracy are referred to in a letter from Alvaro Fernandes: the usurper Āli, Muhammad Rasquim—the king Muḥḥammad in Mahl—reinstated and married by Mamale to an all powerful sultaness, possibly Buraki Rani.⁸¹ This letter does not put a date on the varying fortunes of the crisis, but it does indicate the benefit Mamale reaped from it; tribute to the value of ten thousand *pardaos* per year, payable in coir, amber and pieces of gold and silver—in other words half the archipelago's income. It was also said that some atolls—'Candaluz', 'Camdical' and 'Tilladumati'⁸²—had been given to him as payment, a fact which Mamale confirmed himself when he declared that certain islands had been offered to him by the Sultan. The list of these concessions gives some credence to the words of Gaspar Correia who presented Mamale as the 'lord of the Maldives', made rich by the monopoly in coir, with which he supplied all the ships of the west coast. Apart from the goods handed over in tribute, Mamale obtained cowries, dried fish and silks by exchanging them profitably for salt, cooking pots and rice.⁸³ By extending the Canara rice trade to the Maldives, Mamale finally brought the archipelago under his economic dependence.⁸⁴ This dependence was all the more profitable since he provided the islands with a black rice from Kumbila, the quality of which was so bad that only the poor people accepted it willingly.⁸⁵

Although an exact date cannot be put on the origin of Mamale's advantages, there is evidence to show that he was enjoying them in 1512 and that he was making every effort to have them converted into legitimate rights. The circumstances were in his favour. Repeated crises were throwing the Male princes into confusion. Afonso de Albuquerque had departed for Malacca, while Goa was once more under siege from the Ādil Khān's troops.⁸⁶ It was even said that the Governor was dead and his army ruined.⁸⁷ Furthermore, the rumour was being spread that a new squadron of Rumes was on its way: Amir Ḥusayn had been freed from his detention in Gujarat upon the death of Mahmud I, on 23 November 1511, and had immediately written to all the Malabar sovereigns that he

would only be going back to Egypt in order to return and annihilate the Portuguese.⁸⁸ His campaign therefore had to be supported in the interests of retaining the freedom of the Red Sea and Gujarati fleets. It was these very ships which Mamale hoped to attract to the Maldives, and so, with this in mind, he set out to meet the Rumes, accompanied by a flotilla of war *paraos*. But he waited in vain and had to be content with stopping some vessels from Ormuz which he towed to Cannanore, using a Portuguese safe conduct.⁸⁹

It was essential that he act quickly however, before the arrival of the Rumes and the return of the Portuguese forces, so that he could present them both with the *fait accompli*. He therefore decided to place his own brother, Icapocar, on the Male throne. As he was concerned to make this usurpation look legitimate, he had the new sovereign invested by the Kōḷaṭhiri.⁹⁰

The questionable chronology of the *Taṭīḥ* overlooks one important fact. Against which Sultan was the coup d'état organized by Mamale directed? Was it Ḥasan (H.915-16/1509-11) or the Arab Ših Aḥmad (H.916-18/1511-13)?⁹¹ that Mamale proposed to overthrow after imprisoning Kalu Muḥammad, now a refugee living in Cannanore, and forcing him to surrender all his rights? Was it Ālī he wished to remove, by attaching little importance to the claims of Kalu Muḥammad? It appears that, initially, Mamale wished to oust one of the usurpers by putting forward a challenger, Kalu Muḥammad; in other words a rival whose rights and territories he had confiscated and whom he had made his puppet. Having been reinstated, had the latter honoured his commitments? Or was he too weak to stand up to the plots of the other claimants? Mamale had resolved to settle the question by putting in Icapocar. But the latter's authority was not really recognized in the Maldives, for in 1512 Kalu Muḥammad decided to assert his rights and exclude Mamale from the affairs of the islands.

At the beginning of August 1512 'one of the Maldives kings' envoys went to Cochin and requested an audience with Afonso de Albuquerque.⁹² He was from Ormuz and his name was Bābā Ābdullah. The nature of his mission is revealed not only by Portuguese archives but also by a letter written in Arabic and signed in his hand.⁹³ This letter recounts how the Ormuz ambassador presented Bābā Ābdullah to the Governor and invited him to explain the political situation of the islands. Bābā Ābdullah

asked Albuquerque to call on Mamale to stop collecting tribute from weak and frightened people and to give an undertaking that the revenue from the Maldives would henceforth be paid to the King of Portugal;⁹⁴ this is how the Governor had interpreted the situation and accordingly announced to D. Manuel that the Sultan of the Maldives had proclaimed himself his vassal.⁹⁵

It is significant that, in his account of this mission, Castanheda employed the expression 'dhum rey das ilhas de Maldiva'⁹⁶—an indication that the dynastic struggle were not yet over and that several claimants were still disputing the archipelago. Who had Bābā ʿAbdullah appointed to act as delegate to the Portuguese authorities? The archives are no more specific on this point than the chronicles; but there is no doubt that the Sultan formerly defended by Bābā ʿAbdullah was Kalu Muḥammad, the one who had been supported by Mamale against a usurper.⁹⁷ It seems that, after his return to the archipelago, Kalu Muḥammad had recovered a fairly nominal authority over some of the islands, and this authority was being challenged by the claims of Mamale and his brother, supported by the presence of their agents and their governor.⁹⁸ Weary of the tyranny that he had suffered for fifteen years, the Sultan requested the protection of the Portuguese forces whose recent victories had been a source of reassurance to him.

The Governor was aware of the privileged position enjoyed by Mamale on the islands; a recent incident had in fact served as a reminder of the situation. In January 1512 his squadron, which was returning from Malacca, had stopped and searched a ship in the waters off Ceylon which was travelling without a safe conduct.⁹⁹ Albuquerque summoned the captain and dignitaries on board his own ship and ordered Simão de Andrade to take command of the seized boat and to hold it with about fifteen men. But the Muslim pilot was determined to escape captivity and headed for the Maldives where he took refuge on the atoll of 'Candaluz'.¹⁰⁰ The local governor, a man called Mammali,¹⁰¹ had recently given shelter to Muḥammad Mesri, a rich merchant from Cairo who had strayed into the archipelago during a storm and who was one of the principal architects of the alliance between the Zamorin and the Sultan of Egypt.¹⁰² With a group of Calicut Muslims, he rushed on board and seized all the Christians. One of Giovanni da Empoli's servants, who came from Lyons and have been on the ship, states that they were brutally treated, dragged to the ground

by their beards and sold like slaves. Simão de Andrade and his companions had to wait three months before they were repatriated by order of the Kōḷaṭhiri.¹⁰³

This unhappy incident had heightened Albuquerque's mistrust of Mamale. It had revealed at one and the same time his hide-out of 'Candaluz' and his collusion with Muḥammad Mesri. Bābā ʿAbdullah's mission came at the right time to remind him that Mamale had taken no account of his warnings and that he was still receiving an income from the islands. The full extent of the Cannanore Muslims' plans was certainly clear to Albuquerque from that moment on because he was quick to warn D. Manuel of the situation. He urged the King to show himself to be intractable, and offered to hand over to him 'Mamale and half a dozen of his men' in order to frighten their allies. He denounced the exploits of 'Mamale and his brothers who are making themselves the conquerors of India right in front of your captain-general, in spite of your fleets and your title...and want to conquer and take control of the islands'. He was relying on the testimony of certain fortress agents who had advised him to 'cut the corn before it grows any higher'.¹⁰⁴

The urgency of the duties awaiting him in Goa, however, did not allow Albuquerque to involve himself in this conflict, although he was due to stop in Cannanore to appoint Jorge de Melo as Diogo Correia's successor at the fortress.¹⁰⁵ He decided to try and approach the Kōḷaṭhiri and asked Bābā ʿAbdullah to accompany him.¹⁰⁶ He reached Cannanore at the beginning of October¹⁰⁷ and soon became anxious at the sovereign's lack of eagerness to grant him an audience.¹⁰⁸ It was evident that the authority of Portugal had been superseded by that of the Muslim dignitaries. 'Nothing was done without their order and their wish'.¹⁰⁹ Mamale was in league with Nambiador, the king's prime minister,¹¹⁰ who had earlier encouraged him to besiege the fortress. They had both used the false news of the defeat and death of the Governor to turn public opinion in favour of the Rumes: a fleet of *paraos* was awaiting their arrival¹¹¹ and two specially equipped keel boats were to leave for Mecca with cargo of spices and return with warriors.¹¹² The Minister had removed the Portuguese party leaders. The Nātuvāri had died in prison.¹¹³ The 'alguazil velho' had returned to Goa only to find himself bankrupt and was forced to live under a Nāyar guard. A certain Arevollo, who was a regular

visitor to the fortress, had been assassinated. Those Muslims suspected of befriending the Portuguese were not spared; one of them, who had been to Lisbon, had paid with his life for describing the city with too much enthusiasm.¹¹⁴ Consequently more half-hearted partisans chose to betray: a Gujarati abused the fortress agents' trust by passing on information received from them to Nambiadior, while his own nephew was secretly supplying arquebuses, sulphur and saltpetre to the Ādil Khān's troops. The Portuguese citadel seemed to be under an interdict. The merchants were under orders to have no further dealings and to sell no more provisions to the *feitoria*. This boycott was extended to the captain and the people living at the garrison, to whom it was forbidden for anyone to speak without the authorization of the Minister. It will shortly be seen that these instructions were not always strictly observed, but their effect was acute enough for Albuquerque to regard the people of Cannanore as hostile and contemptuous, 'as if they were planning some terrible scheme, or had decided to form an alliance with the Rumes'.¹¹⁵

The Governor had set aside a few days to settle the question of the islands, while at the same time all the affairs of Cannanore had to be dealt with. On 11 October he wrote to D. Manuel telling him everything would have to be started all over again, and yet in the same letter he was able to report on the first steps he had taken.¹¹⁶ As the Kōḷaṭhiri was keeping a low profile, Albuquerque confronted the real rulers of the country. He summoned Nambiadior, Mamale and Içapocar together with some Indian dignitaries, amongst whom was the faithful Koya Pakki¹¹⁷ and Fukar Ḥusayn 'the Malabar'.¹¹⁸ Also present at this meeting were D. Garcia de Noronha, his nephew, and some of the other captains.¹¹⁹ Before all these witnesses the Governor called upon Nambiadior and Mamale to justify their interference in the affairs of the Maldives. By what right had they granted the sovereignty of the archipelago to Içapocar? How had Mamale dared to conduct himself as conqueror when he knew that the title of 'conquistador das Índias' belonged to the King of Portugal? Mamale replied that the Sultan of the Maldives had requested his help against a usurper, and that in acknowledgement of his assistance he had given him certain islands. Afonso de Albuquerque then brought in Bābā Ābdullah who declared that the islands had been taken from the Sultan by force and that the latter had been overpowered and detained in Cannanore until

he surrendered them. He accused Mamale of not being satisfied with these concessions and of wanting to remove the legitimate Sultan so that he could replace him with his own brother. Mamale requested the arbitration of the king, but Albuquerque refused, saying that the Kōlāthiri had no authority in this matter and that he could not pass judgement since he was a Hindu and the islanders were Muslim. By what right had he allowed the throne to be given to Içapocar while he himself was a subject of the king of Portugal and therefore powerless? In the name of the same king he ordered Mamale to leave the islands within five months, after which neither his possessions nor his creatures would be spared. The sovereignty of the Maldives must be returned in its entirety to the Sultan who would then be required to pay homage to D. Manuel. Any attacks on his rights and safety would be attributed to Mamale, whose 'ambitious illusion' would be finally brought under check by the fortress which D. Manuel had ordered to be built on the islands.¹²⁰

This last piece of news upset Mamale's schemes more than the intransigence of his accuser's arguments. The interest taken by Albuquerque in the strategic situation of the Maldives threatened him much more than his support for the Sultan, particularly since the Portuguese reconnaissance missions, far from losing their way in the labyrinth of atolls, had been successful. For a long time they had had their sights set on the privileged position of Kolomadulu which controlled one of the principal channels of the archipelago¹²¹ used by most of the ships sailing from Indonesia. As early as 1506 'Quymdiquel' was mentioned in one of the Viceroy's reports;¹²² in February 1508 D. Manuel, probably inspired by those who had sailed in the area, ordered Diogo Lopes de Sequeira to 'fazer ho caminho pela ylha de Candaluz ou por Maldiva que folgaryamos de serem desbaratadas...'.¹²³ These instructions were never carried out and yet did not the resolve of the victor of Malacca now fill everyone with fear? He had to be shown that it was useless for the Portuguese to exploit the Maldives unassisted. Provided he retained the title of Sultan, Içapocar offered to relieve them of this burden and to administer the islands on behalf of the king of Portugal. Albuquerque was suspicious of the influence of Cannanore and the inevitable pressures to which such a claimant would be subjected. He preferred to back the legitimate Sultan who was totally dependent on him for his protection. Through

Bābā Āldullah, Kalu Muḥammad had undertaken to provide his annual production of amber, coir and precious cloth, and to allow only those ships approved by the Portuguese authorities to enter his ports.¹²⁴

Afonso de Albuquerque was not the kind of man to be satisfied with promises; he had to be sure that they would be fulfilled. There was little point opposing Mamale's expansion plans if the close ties of mutual cooperation between him and the king's minister could not be broken. The Governor thus decided to bring disgrace on Nambiador by sending a fifteen points charge to the Kōlathiri. In his reply the sovereign acknowledged that in certain areas his minister had made mistakes but for the most part gave reasons for his attitude and did not feel that the accusations were enough to justify his dismissal. But, to his surprise, Albuquerque was not to be deflected from his determination to get rid of an enemy whom he judged to be 'irresponsible, tyrannical and greedy'¹²⁵ and whom he accused of taking advantage of the sovereign's apathy¹²⁶ in order to control him more effectively. He notified the Kōlathiri that the judgments of Portugal were completely above suspicion and that the king should have nothing to do with a minister who was hostile to D. Manuel and had rebellious intentions. To give weight to his argument, he put on a show to impress the royal emissary. He summoned the captain and the fortress agents who were made to swear on the Bible that they would have no further meetings and conduct no more business deals with Nambiador. He ordered that no more safe conducts were to be issued to ships from Cannanore and no more ginger bought from the town merchants. In the presence of the emissary he had forty-nine safe conducts drawn up for use by the Calicut *pagueres*, specifying that for every one carrying *beledi* ginger¹²⁷ a cargo of rice would be received in exchange.

Upon hearing this, the Kōlathiri agreed to appoint a new minister.¹²⁸ Albuquerque was favourably impressed by the person selected and considered him to be honest, probably because he found him easy to manipulate, thus he was¹²⁹ inundated with gifts and accompanied home with all the honours worthy of his position. As a final stage in resolving the crisis, the Governor delegated Jorge de Melo, the new fortress captain, to make an official visit to the Kōlathiri who was found to be in a conciliatory mood, as if he had washed his hands off the actions of his former

minister. He summoned Içapocar and urged him to surrender the Male crown.¹³⁰ For his part, Mamale had promised in writing to give up the income he had been receiving from the archipelago¹³¹ and had presented Albuquerque with diamonds, emeralds and an amber pear studded with gold and precious stones.¹³²

This gesture was clearly nothing more than a formality. Albuquerque was already taking action and had seized a ship loaded with coir which belonged to Mamale. Freeing those among the crew who were from the islands, he ordered them to obey the old ruler no longer, but the legitimate Sultan instead.¹³³ Mamale of Cannanore had had to yield to the Portuguese Governor, whose mistrust he hoped to dispel. He had sacrificed Içapocar but his objectives remained unchanged.¹³⁴

The severity with which Albuquerque dealt with the Cannanore dignitaries had saved him from endless discussions, although it had not provided protection from the disapproval of his Portuguese adversaries. The defeat of Mamale and Nambiador, which had been accomplished in less than ten days, did not lessen their concern and in fact strengthened their defiant attitude towards the Governor's policy.

Before leaving for Malacca in 1511, Albuquerque had given strict orders that those garrisoned at Cochin and Cannanore should stay in their respective citadels—an instruction which had been quickly violated. Muslim ships were used to transport people from one fortress to the other¹³⁵ and the contacts feared by the Governor had been established, acts of collusion entered into. It was soon regretted that Albuquerque had stripped the Malabar fortresses of their best arms and troops only to lose them in a venture which was judged to be reckless and a total surrender. During the ten months of the Governor's absence the air had been full of idle talk and criticisms. Where some felt a personal resentment, others felt nostalgic and stood by the Viceroy's policy. In Cannanore an opposing movement was being organized by Gonçalo Mendes, *the f^o 241*,¹³⁶ and Duarte Barbosa, who had resumed his office at the end of 1511 after several years of leave in Lisbon.¹³⁷ His knowledge of Malayalam predisposed him towards the party of the natives,¹³⁸ but also made him vulnerable to the false information they enjoyed disseminating. It is difficult to understand why

Duarte Barbosa, usually so verbose, should pull a veil of silence over the Cannanore Muslims' party; he makes no reference to it in his letters, and his report—admittedly incomplete—ignores Mamale and his brothers. Did he feel that mentioning people in whose company he had spent so much time would be dangerous?

While depriving the historian of an invaluable testimony, Duarte Barbosa's caution did not prevent him from adopting an openly conciliatory attitude towards the indigenous authorities. His approach was justified by his leanings, whereas most of his compatriots were concerned for their safety. The cleverly spread rumours of the downfall of the Governor and the imminent arrival of the Rumes¹³⁹ had not only put an end to Albuquerque's influence, it had also left the fortress at the mercy of the Muslims. Survival was of utmost importance as was a settlement with the local authorities in order to avoid a siege which, without arms, could not be sustained. The problem was magnified by the behaviour of Diogo Correia, who had remained faithful to the Governor and was doing everything to bring about a breakdown in relations. Duarte Barbosa condemned his uncompromising attitude which caused him to behave like a tyrant and to humiliate the local people.¹⁴⁰ He slept fully armed for fear of being attacked,¹⁴¹ and had alienated the most powerful Muslims by setting against them one of their own people—a certain 'Pocaracem'¹⁴² who had joined the Portuguese party. This character, who does not emerge until the beginning of 1511, declared that he had been faithful to the king of Portugal for fourteen years.¹⁴³ The position adopted by Diogo Correia, who supported Pocaracem against his co-religionists, was considered by Duarte Barbosa to be the cause of all the troubles.¹⁴⁴ It is probable that this captain's attitude encouraged the merchants to turn away from the fortress and resulted in the ostracism of which he himself was the victim. His blunders brought to a head the loathing for him felt by Gonalo Mendes who reported him to his Cochin friends, to Captain Ant3nio Real and to the *feitor*, Loureno Moreno,¹⁴⁵ all of whom had turned against the Governor and were very receptive to any scandal involving his creatures. Word was put about that Diogo Correia 'had cheated Cannanore' and was distributing safe conducts to Calicut ships.¹⁴⁶ D. Aires da Gama, the commander of the 1511 armada, was put in the picture as soon as he arrived in Cochin. Accompanied by Crist3v3o de Brito, he went to Cannanore and tried to intimidate Diogo Correia

'throwing in his face' the fact that he had no right to the title of captain of the fortress since he had not been given this office by the king but by a disgraced Governor who was shortly to be relieved by Vasco da Gama. Diogo Correia remained unmoved by these remarks and held on to his position. Albuquerque saw this as the reaction of a man with too slack an attitude—'d'omen frouxo'—and later backed up this remark by reproaching him for not having had 'those two child-like captains'—'cachopos capitaes'—thrown into prison and kept there until he returned.¹⁴⁷

Meanwhile, O. Aires da Gama had taken the opportunity to repatriate a large number of the men, saying that Albuquerque was keeping them in India by force¹⁴⁸ and was driving them to desertion and despair. The effect of this was to remove any doubts from those who had been reluctant to disown their leader openly. They tried to reach an agreement with the local authorities by persuading them that the dismissal of Albuquerque, if he was still alive, was now certain and that Goa would be abandoned.¹⁴⁹ They pressed Nambiador to come to the fortress and inform Diogo Correia that he refused to give him a title that the Governor had no right to bestow upon him.¹⁵⁰

Albuquerque's return and the surprising news that Malacca had been captured disproved these comments, but did not discourage those responsible for them. The climate of hostility witnessed by Albuquerque when he arrived in Cannanore to settle the affairs of the Maldives was not only the work of the local people, but also that of the Portuguese at the citadel. Everything led him to believe Diogo Correia's testimony rather than that of his adversaries and to agree with the vehement accusations made against Nambiador, whereas Jorge de Melo, the new fortress captain, was more inclined towards the opposing party. These differences were accentuated by the malevolence of Gaspar Pereira, who had returned to India that same year and had been responsible for changing Jorge de Melo's opinion about Albuquerque. He pointed out to him that the Governor was encroaching on his rights by reprimanding his men in his presence¹⁵¹—Albuquerque had in fact been outraged when he had discovered that they were practising money lending in association with the Muslims and threatened to confiscate their goods if they continued with such dealings.¹⁵²

Those who were concerned to see most of their forces leave for Goa were scandalized at the penury inflicted on the Malabar

citadels. António Real identified the reasons for their mistrust. In a letter addressed to D. Manuel at the end of 1512, he made no secret of the 'mortal' hatred he felt for the Governor.¹⁵³ This quite personal animosity, which was shared by a good many of his companions, found its justification in the exploits undertaken by Albuquerque, the implications of which nobody was able to assess. They also criticized him for wanting to become the absolute Lord of Goa when it would have been enough to secure an entrepot and some tribute from the Ādil Khān.¹⁵⁴ António Real resented the loss of men and munitions resulting from such obstinacy at a time when the Malabar fortresses were short of arms and equipment.¹⁵⁵ Some boats were so riddled with woodworm that they had to be burned.¹⁵⁶ Having acquired a considerable amount of experience in the Italian wars, during which he had served Charles VIII, the king of France, António Real denounced the danger of dispersed conquests;¹⁵⁷ he was indignant that fifteen ships had been left in Malacca with no prospect of their returning.¹⁵⁸ Instead of scattering his ships, why did Albuquerque not send them to collect those goods available locally—the coir and amber of the islands, the cinnamon and jewels of Ceylon?¹⁵⁹ Those who shared António Real's point of view and who, in all good faith, preferred immediate profits to murderous ventures, could not understand the magnitude of Albuquerque's schemes nor the geographical limits in which he practised them.

Before leaving Cannanore for Goa, Albuquerque was careful to compensate Pocaracem for the wrongs done to him by his adversaries,¹⁶⁰ by purchasing some horses from him, and promising to pass other business on to him.¹⁶¹ He was further able to make a gesture of goodwill to the Kōḷaṭhiri by ordering that a Christian Nāyar, who had just murdered one of the king's Nāyars and had taken refuge in the fortress chapel to avoid the retribution of his people, have his hand cut off.¹⁶² Finally, he organized a parade to impress the Muslims: he brought out his soldiers who, carrying pikes and pulling arquebuses, marched in a snail formation to the sound of fifes and drums.¹⁶³ As the affairs in hand had been dealt with, Albuquerque left in mid-October¹⁶⁴ in the company of D. Garcia, Diogo Correia and Bābā Ābdullah.¹⁶⁵ His few days spent in Cannanore had disappointed him. Having assessed Mamale's determination and the hostility at the fortress, he no longer felt any remorse at sacrificing a town which was entirely

opposed to his schemes. And so, while sailing towards Goa, his thoughts turned to the execution of a plan which he had been nurturing for a long time—establishing peace with Calicut.

During the raid of January 1510, in which Marichal D. Fernando Coutinho had involved him against his wishes, Albuquerque had calculated the cost of a conquest which would have exhausted the Portuguese forces and the futility of a war which had lasted more than ten years.¹⁶⁶ For their part, the Calicut authorities hoped to put an end to the harassment by an enemy which they despaired of ever removing from the shores of India. After Goa had been taken, at the end of 1510, the Zamorin had made certain overtures which had been considered. Simão Rangel had been sent to Calicut in secret,¹⁶⁷ but his mission had failed and he had been sold as a slave to Muhammad, 'the Egyptian'.¹⁶⁸ João de Avila had heard about these discussions and had informed D. Manuel of the possibility of a fortress being built.¹⁶⁹ The conquest of Malacca had given new hope to these plans; in August 1512 Albuquerque made his intentions known to D. Manuel and tried to persuade him that the time was right to adopt a new policy.¹⁷⁰

For some time already he had been assessing the possibility of seizing the principal key positions in the Indian Ocean. He had advised D. Manuel to establish himself in Cambay, Ormuz and Malacca and only to keep the Cochin *feitoria* in Malabar.¹⁷¹ After the conquest of Goa and Malacca the plan was clear: the interests of Cochin were to take second place to the need for establishing a position in Calicut. Albuquerque discovered that it was more profitable to distribute the products from Malacca in the East than to ship them from India to Lisbon.¹⁷² All the Portuguese needed to do to secure the spice route for themselves was to block the entrance to the Red Sea. Furthermore, the alliance between Calicut and Portugal kept the threat of intervention by the Rumes and the 'Turcos' at a safe distance.¹⁷³

For some time now Afonso de Albuquerque had been aware of the subtle game of the Cochin and Cannanore kings who were both benefiting from the Calicut blockade. They were pleased that the Portuguese were paying for a war which was weakening the power of the Zamorin, while they were able to use their safe conducts to engage in profitable trade and revictual their enemy

city secretly.¹⁷⁴ The first point principally concerned Cochin which was indebted to the Portuguese for its commercial wealth and the safety of its borders. The second referred more specifically to Cannanore which made up for the damage inflicted on it by the Portuguese ventures with a wealth of prohibited trade. The safe conducts issued in Cannanore to the ships from the coast between Putupattanam and Bhatkal¹⁷⁵ were forged and resold to the Calicut captains; it was principally in Dharmapaṭam that these activities were taking place and the rice convoys destined for the Zamorin's kingdom gathered up.

At the end of 1512 Afonso de Albuquerque informed D. Manuel of the decisions he intended to take.¹⁷⁶ Since the Zamorin was willing to negotiate, why refuse to exploit the richest market in Malabar which offered pepper and ginger as well as jewels from Ceylon and Vijayanagar?¹⁷⁷ Why persist in keeping the Calicut blockade when it was constantly being circumvented by the almadias from Cannanore and Dharmapaṭam?¹⁷⁸ Why continue chasing the Red Sea ships in the waters off Malabar when they were slowly abandoning its shores and going directly to the Indonesian archipelago? It was no longer around Calicut that the Portuguese ships were suffering the heaviest losses, but 'in the gulf of Ceylon',¹⁷⁹ along the sea route linking Sumatra to the Maldives. Did Albuquerque see a connection at this stage between this new danger and Mamale's activities? For every one of his pleas in favour of Calicut there was nearly always a charge made against Cannanore. He condemned the duplicity of his Muslims who 'call themselves your slaves... kiss the feet of your *feitor*, bow down before your captain with great gestures of humility and submission... and have twice besieged your fortress...'.¹⁸⁰ Their courtesy was a poor disguise for their pride and the strength of their hold on the king: 'Mylord, unless you make a decisive strike, these Cannanore Moors will soon perform some heinous deed against you... and Your Highness will be extremely displeased... they are always setting the king against us without (us having the opportunity of) seeing him or talking to him... they are openly helping Calicut with our own safe conducts....'¹⁸¹ He observed that after so many years of peace and friendship it was still not possible to walk around Cannanore without one eye fixed permanently over one's shoulder.¹⁸² And for what benefit? Albuquerque wrote that Cannanore was nothing more than a wheeler-dealer who produced

nothing and was only capable of selling other countries' goods at twice the price.¹⁸³ It had no commercial worth, no port or river mouth deep enough to accommodate ships and galleys, no precious stones in its markets and no businessmen of any standing at the *feitoria*.¹⁸⁴ What good was even the ginger when the best in the region could be bought in Calicut?

While the battles which were to wrest the last bastion of Banastarim from the Ādil Khān's forces were raging in Goa, Afonso de Albuquerque was preparing himself to reply to the Zamorin's offer of peace. At the beginning of December, by which time news of the secret discussions had reached the king of Cochin, who feigned disbelief,¹⁸⁵ the Governor ordered D. Garcia to go to Cochin to supervise the allocation and loading of the ships which were to return to Portugal. He was also to establish contact with the Zamorin's representatives and in particular with those of his brother, Prince Nambiadari, who had always been in favour of the Portuguese alliance.¹⁸⁶ Shortly afterwards the latter offered his services as mediator and had transmitted to D. Garcia a letter for the Governor.¹⁸⁷ It is not known what the terms of Albuquerque's reply were, although he later revealed that he had suggested to Nambiadari that he get rid of the Zamorin and rule in his place. This advice was probably taken because in mid-February the Zamorin died from poisoning¹⁸⁸ while Francisco Nogueira was sailing to Calicut to negotiate a peace.¹⁸⁹

He was accompanied by Gonçalo Mendes whom Albuquerque wished to keep away from Cannanore.¹⁹⁰ The rumours from Cochin gave a special meaning to their departure and confirmed the misgivings Duarte Barbosa had confided to D. Manuel some weeks earlier. He had accused Albuquerque of once again allowing Calicut to attract vessels from the Red Sea which, because the Portuguese had relaxed their surveillance, were sailing with impunity along the Malabar coast. He deeply regretted that the old *feitorias* had been neglected in favour of Goa. Cannanore was so bereft of merchandise that it was impossible to purchase all the ginger offered by the country's merchants. The armadas never stayed more than three days at the citadel, saving for Cochin the goods they had brought from Lisbon. The downward slide in trade worried the Kōlathiri whose honour had been injured by the concessions imposed on him by Albuquerque and by the humiliation suffered by his Minister. He had confided in Duarte

Barbosa who had tried to ease his despair 'with kind words', and had managed to dissuade him for retreating inland to await the redress which D. Manuel would surely carry out.¹⁹¹

The detrimental effect on Cannanore of Albuquerque's policy became apparent during the first few weeks of 1513. The fall of Banastarim meant that Goa had completely surrendered to the Portuguese who now had control of the largest horse market on the Indian coast;¹⁹² the rival trade in Cannanore was consequently ruined. Once Banastarim had been taken, Albuquerque had ordered his captains to head north, intercept all the Ormuz vessels and divert them to Goa.¹⁹³ The neighbouring Indian princes, who until that time had delayed responding to the approaches of the Portuguese, now sent ambassadors. The Bankapūr representative was interested in trading saddlery and harnessing. The Vijayanagar merchants flocked to Goa. Lopo Chanoca was once more despatched beyond the Ghāts.¹⁹⁴ Kṛiṣṇa Deva Rāya, who at that time was building up strong cavalry forces, requested that the Governor reserve for him all horses brought to Goa.¹⁹⁵ The Ādil Khān sent two ambassadors with the same petition.¹⁹⁶ The expedition which Albuquerque was preparing to conduct to the Red Sea and his plans for Ormuz were expected shortly to assure the Portuguese of the horse traffic sea routes. By ordering that all horses be sent exclusively to Goa,¹⁹⁷ Albuquerque was 'taming the arrogance of Cannanore',¹⁹⁸ whose principal source of wealth was doomed to failure.

Another major source of revenue was in danger of eradication as the result of the treaty drawn up between Afonso de Albuquerque and the Zamorin. The agreement proposed would have the immediate effect of allowing the Portuguese to purchase the famous *beledi* ginger from Calicut and to abandon the mediocre ginger of Cannanore.

The urgency of the demands imposed upon him by the conquest of Goa and the Calicut negotiations had not allowed Afonso de Albuquerque to settle the affairs of the islands. Bābā Ābdullah had followed him to Banastarim. The *mandados* provide a record of the gifts bestowed on him¹⁹⁹ instead of the ships and troops which the Governor had promised.²⁰⁰ The Red Sea expedition mobilized all the Portuguese forces and did not even allow for one squadron to be sent to the Maldives. As he was short of time, Albuquerque asked Bābā Ābdullah to await his return and sent him on an official

visit to the Ādil Khān.²⁰¹ This delay in the Portuguese intervention left the way clear for Mamale of Cannanore who was well able to take full advantage of the situation.

As soon as the Governor had departed, the Cochin and Cannanore authorities set about ruining the negotiations which were being drawn up in Calicut. The complicity of certain Portuguese captains and agents embittered Albuquerque who accused them of being too Indianized—'cheos de betele e de negras'²⁰²—and of wedding themselves to the interests of the Malabar sovereigns.²⁰³ In Cochin, Lourenço Moreno and António Real supported the indignant laments of the king.²⁰⁴ In Cannanore, Duarte Barbosa reiterated the anxieties of the Kōḷaṭhiri; he stood firm on the interesting possibilities offered by the local ginger market and regretted that the Calicut blockade had been lifted.²⁰⁵ Jorge de Melo aligned his policy with that of his Cochin friends; he had adopted an approach which was opposed to that of his predecessor, Diogo Correia, and supported Mamale against Pocaracem. A pretext was soon found for removing the latter who had been given the right to purchase horses in Goa and sell them in Vijayanagar.²⁰⁶ After the transaction he still owed 9,000 *pardaos* to the Goa *feitoria*, 2,500 cruzados to the Cannanore *feitoria* and 1,500 to its *feitor*.²⁰⁷ It was immediately called to mind that his brother had fled to Calicut shortly before this to avoid paying the money he owed to Rodrigo Rabelo.²⁰⁸ Did not Pocaracem have the same intentions? Having been warned by Mamale and the king's minister, Jorge de Melo decided to take preventive action. It is not known what the circumstances were which led to Pocaracem and his brothers being arrested and stripped of their possessions by their adversaries. Castanheda accuses Jorge de Melo of breaking the law and sending his men to attack Pocaracem in the Muslim quarter, thereby causing a four day riot.²⁰⁹ Jorge de Melo claimed that, on the contrary, he had asked the Kōḷaṭhiri to act as a judge in this matter and the latter had summoned those guilty and had had them arrested.²¹⁰ Whatever the situation, Mamale was triumphant: he had removed his rival, without danger to himself, by causing the captain of the Portuguese citadel to take action. Jorge de Melo, who was defended by a garrison of only eighty men,²¹¹ did everything in his power to cajole him and to entice him to the fortress where from time to time he condescended to go. In a letter written to D. Manuel the

following year, Jorge de Melo expressed satisfaction that he had restored calm to the town.²¹²

Nothing stood in the way of the diplomatic tactics employed by the Kōḷaṭhiri in the absence of the Governor. He despatched his emissaries to Calicut to warn the Zamorin of Albuquerque's empty promises.²¹³ He advised him against agreeing to the construction of a fortress and assured him of Cannanore's support in case of war.²¹⁴ Gonçalo Mendes was invited to delay the negotiations until a new Governor arrived.²¹⁵ When Albuquerque returned on 20 September the Calicut discussions were at a standstill²¹⁶ and D. Garcia was immediately ordered to resume the suspended talks. He arrived in Cannanore for the purpose of reinstating Pocaracem and taking him into his following.²¹⁷ Disappointed by his own people, Albuquerque had ordered D. Garcia to set up an Indian delegation to continue the negotiations. The appointed representatives were: Pocaracem, two Nāyar interpreters and Nambiar—the 'alguazil velho'.²¹⁸ Nambiar, who had been minister in Calicut before taking up the same office in Cannanore,²¹⁹ was soon to succeed in getting an audience with the new Zamorin and in persuading him of the sincerity of the Portuguese intentions. The *mandados* are evidence of the Brahmin messengers who came and went between Calicut and Goa.²²⁰ Thomas Fernandes, the Cannanore fortress architect, was soon being instructed to build the Calicut fortress.²²¹ On 1 October the terms of the peace treaty were drawn up.²²² It was then left to D. Garcia to overcome the reluctance of his other allies. He made frequent visits to Cannanore where he convened the Muslim merchants and, behind closed doors, tried to win their confidence, promising to reconcile them with his uncle.²²³ The Cochin and Cannanore kings found it hard to accept that they were once more being overshadowed by the Zamorin and once more becoming 'very small *kaimals*'.²²⁴ The King of Cochin demonstrated an evident resignation, which the indignant letters he sent to D. Manuel belied;²²⁵ it was the Kōḷaṭhiri, quick to yield in the face of the fait accompli, who persuaded him to recognize the wisdom of a peace.²²⁶

This did not mean that the Cannanore situation was settled. Albuquerque visited the citadel at the end of November. He was outraged by the complacency of the Muslims at the fortress. Was it surprising that they had won back their lost positions? Far from renouncing his intentions to control the islands, Mamale was

taking 'Candaluz' by force.²²⁷ Two of his ships, which were carrying forged safe conducts, had been caught in a storm on the Aden route and had been thrown off course towards Diu and Chaul.²²⁸ Nambiador had felt it was safe to return from exile.²²⁹ The king's new Minister had wisely joined Mamale's party and backed the Governor's enemies, banishing Nambiar and denouncing Pocaracem. Albuquerque summoned him and welcomed him by offering him the gold chain he wore around his neck to show his appreciation 'for all the bad he had said of him'. The Minister tried in vain to clear himself and to blame the fortress agents for robbing Pocaracem, but could do nothing to prevent himself from being threatened with the punishment his offences warranted.²³⁰ Despite the high regard the Kōḷaṭhiri²³¹ had for him, Jorge de Melo was treated with even less respect. He was made to stand, barret in hand, while, before witnesses and unable to speak in his own defence, his excessively conciliatory attitude was reproached in such biting terms that a year later he could not think about the incident without becoming angry. His right to issue safe conducts was taken from him and he was made to swear that he would have no further involvement with Içapocar and make no further contact with the Minister and certain Muslims. Notification of this was posted in the fortress lodge.²³² Duarte Barbosa, whom Albuquerque considered to be a destructive element, was transferred and appointed secretary of the Calicut *feitoria*.²³³

The chronicles make no mention of a certain interview which Albuquerque granted to the Kōḷaṭhiri and which the latter made sure to report to D. Manuel. It was the first time that an Eli sovereign had passed through the gates of the fortress, a development which had been brought about by the urgent need to re-establish his financial situation and by the hope that serious consideration might be given to his main request: to be granted safe conducts to go and purchase horses in Ormuz. It is probable that Albuquerque's courteous behaviour pacified the king because the latter announced that he was satisfied with the results of the audience. But although he assured D. Manuel that the Governor had yielded and that his demands had been met, he still wanted an assurance in the form of an order, a copy of which was to be sent to Albuquerque, confirming the promises that he had received. Two emissaries were to be sent from the Kōḷaṭhiri to Lisbon 'to silence the gossip'.²³⁴

The final step taken by the Kōḷaṭhiri could not delay Cannanore's downfall which from this time on was total. Ships carrying horses no longer came to the port.²³⁵ Albuquerque fiercely defended Goa's monopoly against all the coastal powers; he even refused to allow the Vijayanagar cavalry to disembark at Bhaṭkaḷ,²³⁶ which sometimes caused the local pirates to carry out raids.²³⁷ In addition, one of the clauses of the Calicut treaty provided for the bulk purchase of *beledi* ginger,²³⁸ and instructions were shortly afterwards given to the Cannanore *feitor* to buy no more *eli* ginger and to dispose of all stocks in the Ormuz markets.²³⁹

Some thirty years later a Kōḷaṭhiri wrote that the fortress of Goa and Calicut had ruined the Cannanore kings and merchants and had reduced them to making money from cardamom and coconuts.²⁴⁰ This had been Albuquerque's very intention when at the end of 1513 he had invited D. Manuel to leave the hostile city to its own demise. 'Do not concern yourself with Cannanore's trade; it is totally unprofitable...I have cut your links with Cannanore... which is of no use to you'—'alargay Cananor de vos...'.²⁴¹

In the same correspondence the Governor regretted that he had not fulfilled his promise of aid to the Sultan of the islands.²⁴² This was the flaw in the wide net Albuquerque had succeeded in casting over the western Indian Ocean—a minor flaw on the world scale, but one which in real terms left Mamale a vast area for reconversion. The latter had nothing more to reap from Cannanore, which was vegetating under the benevolent authority of Jorge de Melo; he had lost all hope of seeing the Rumes arrive—their departure was constantly being rescheduled as a result of Mameluke Egypt's internal problems.²⁴³ Albuquerque was preoccupied with the need to establish the Portuguese forces in Ormuz and Diu and the difficulty of maintaining their position in Malacca. During 1514 and 1515 Mamale gained a discreet foothold in the archipelago so that upon his return from Deccan Bābā Abdullah took to one of his ships to get back to the islands. The ambassador conveyed to the Sultan Albuquerque's instructions that the local income was to be handed over to the king of Portugal. But it was too late: when Mamale's tax collectors presented themselves to the Sultan, they replied to his refusal by saying that Albuquerque had died on his way back from Ormuz.²⁴⁴

Notes and References

¹ Barros, II/4-1, pp. 153-63; Castanheda, II/2-3, pp. 7-14; Góis, II/43, pp. 143-7.

² The official objective of this expedition was the Red Sea (Afonso de Albuquerque to D. Manuel, in sumário (1512), CA, I, p. 431) where a fortress was to be built (Barros II/4-5, p. 185). According to Castanheda this was merely an excuse for going to Ormuz (III/7, p. 17).

³ Barros, II/4-1, p. 154.

⁴ Brás, II/17, p. 321. A mandado (Cannanore, 7 Feb. 1510, CA II, p. 74) states that he was accompanied by the interpreter Lourenço Prego. Pero Fernandes Tinoco, who had been appointed ambassador to Vijayanagar, had been killed in Calicut on 2 Jan. 1510 (Castanheda, III/3, p. 12).

⁵ Brás, II/17, p. 324.

⁶ *Vide infra*, n. 11

⁷ Timoji to D. Francisco de Almeida, s.l.n.d., TdT,CVR, n° 89, document 1 hereafter, f. 1 a.

⁸ Castanheda, III/7, p. 19.

⁹ Timoji to D. Francisco de Almeida, loc. cit., f. 1 a.

¹⁰ Barros, II/4-5, p. 186.

¹¹ According to Barros (II/4-5, p. 186), Castanheda (III/7, pp. 19-20) and Góis (II/3, p. 11) Afonso de Albuquerque received Timoji's warning in Honavar; but since the first council convened to discuss the opportunity of taking Goa was, according to the record of proceedings, held 'off Mount Eli', it can be assumed that Timoji had made contact with Albuquerque before the latter arrived in Honavar. (CA, II, p. 1). The anonymous author of the *Crónica* thought so (p. 203).

¹² Barros, II/4-1, p. 187.

¹³ Castanheda, III/43, p. 107.

¹⁴ This incident, which was overlooked by the chroniclers, is revealed in Timoji's letter to D. Francisco de Almeida, loc. cit., f. 1 a.

¹⁵ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochín, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 39; Castanheda, III/12, p. 28.

¹⁶ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, loc. cit., Brás, III/8, p. 33. According to these authors, Frei Luis was assassinated by a Rume.

¹⁷ Barros, II/5-3, p. 204; Castanheda, III/12, pp. 27-8, and p. 15, 53.

¹⁸ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, s.l., 4 Nov. 1510, sumário, CA, I, p. 420; the same to the same, Cochín, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 39; Castanheda, III/15, p. 33.

¹⁹ Barros, II/5-3 to 7, pp. 200-2; Castanheda, III/10-34, pp. 23-84; Góis, III/5-7, pp. 18-33.

²⁰ Castanheda, III/36, p. 86. The date of Afonso de Albuquerque's return to Cannanore has been established by M. Jean Aubin in *Albuquerque et les négociations de Cambaye*, *MLI*, vol. 1 (1971), p. 19, n. 106.

²¹ In 1497, following D. Manuel's marriage to D. Isabel de Castile, the Jewish refugees from the kingdom of Granada who were living in Portugal had been expelled and their children baptized and brought up in special institutions. This is

probably the origin of the 'new Christians' referred to here. (Cf. F. de Almeida, *História de Portugal*, Coimbra, 1922-9, vol. 1, p. 206).

²² Julião Nunes to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 14 Oct. 1510, CA, III, p. 311.

²³ Castanheda, III/24, p. 83.

²⁴ Cf. J. Aubin, loc. cit., pp. 20-5.

²⁵ Julião Nunes to D. Manuel, loc. cit., p. 309.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 308-11.

²⁷ Mandados, Cannanore, 17 Aug. 1510, CA, VI, pp. 393-4 (sugar for the king, presented at the Onam festival, 'esta sua Pascoa que ora tem') and CA, II, p. 86 (gift to the king of two cups and a silver bowl, and to his minister of a cup).

²⁸ Bras, II/44, p. 432.

²⁹ Correia, II/1, p. 129.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 130.

³¹ Afonso de Albuquerque to D. Manuel, s.l., 4 Nov. 1510, sumário, CA, I, pp. 419-20. In another letter he added: 'o credito que os mouros diz que tem narmada do soldam que esperam que faz mais dano do que a vinda da propria armada...' (s.l.n.d., sumário das cartas... que trouxe Gonçalo de Sequeira, CA, I, p. 439).

³² João de Avila to D. Manuel, Cannanore, s.d., sumário 1510-12, CA, III, p. 322.

³³ He had been the Samorin of Calicut's Minister and had taken refuge in Cannanore after the attack on the Portuguese *feitoria* in 1500, probably because he disapproved of the king's policy (Barros, II/8-6, p. 383). He appears for the first time in a mandado from Cannanore dated 27 Jan. 1509, which reveals that he was subsequently Minister to the late Kōlāthiri, 'Nabya, alguazil que fora de el-Rey de Cananor'; the same document refers to him as 'algazell velho' and states that he received a gift of fifty gold ashrafis (TdT, CC II-16-67). The king of Cannanore's ministers seem to have received regular incomes: Simão Botelho has kept on record the 1,000 *fanams* (18,000 *reis*) yearly income paid to the 'algazil de Cananor' (*Tombo do Estado da India*, p. 30).

³⁴ Castanheda estimated these troops at one hundred Malabars (III/41, p. 98) among them at least twenty-three Nāyars (mandado, Goa, 14 May 1511, CA, VI, p. 431; it should be noted that this document only mentions the survivors).

³⁵ Castanheda, III/41, p. 99.

³⁶ Góis, III/11, p. 43. The period during which Albuquerque left Cannanore for Goa has been reviewed by J. Aubin, *Albuquerque et les negociations de Cambaye*, MLI, vol. 1 (1971), p. 25, n. 133.

³⁷ Barros, II/5-9, pp. 229-36; Castanheda, II/42, pp. 101-6; Góis, III/11, pp. 43-9.

³⁸ Castanheda, III/45, p. 111.

³⁹ This *sumário* was written by António Carneiro, D. Manuel's secretary of State, and is a resumé of part of the correspondence brought back by Gonçalo de Sequeira who left India at the beginning of January 1511 (Castanheda, III/46, p. 113)—the rest of the correspondence being recorded in CA, I, pp. 430-47. António Carneiro's *sumário* contains an analysis of the letters written by Gonçalo Mendes, the *feitor* of Cannanore (CA, III, p. 319), Rodrigo Rabelo, the captain (CA, III, p. 320), João de Avila, the secretary (CA, III, p. 334), the Kōlāthiri (CA, III, pp. 334-6), the 'Regedor' (CA, III, p. 336).

⁴⁰ This expression—if it has been correctly translated by the interpreter—suggests that this 'Regedor' was Muslim. As this title was used indiscriminately by the Portuguese, it would be imprudent to identify this person as the leader of the Islamic community (The *regedor* of Cannanore to D. Manuel, *sumário*, CA, III, p. 336).

⁴¹ The *Nāṭuvāri* to D. Manuel, *sumário*, CA, III, p. 334.

⁴² João de Avila to D. Manuel, *sumário*, CA, III, p. 322.

⁴³ The same to the same, loc. cit., CA, III, p. 321; the *Kōḷaṭhiri* to D. Manuel, *sumário*, CA, III, p. 334.

⁴⁴ João de Avila to D. Manuel, loc. cit., CA, III, p. 322.

⁴⁵ Rodrigo Rabelo to D. Manuel, *sumário*, CA, III, p. 320 mentioned this agreement the terms of which are specified by Gonçalo Mendes: 1,000 *quintais* of ginger at 112 *fanam* per *bahar*, paid for entirely in kind (Gonçalo Mendes to D. Manuel, *sumário*, CA, III, p. 319), that is in coral, copper, tin, lead, vermilion, mercury, alum, fabric, ivory (The *Kōḷaṭhiri* to Martim Afonso de Sousa, s.l.n.d., TdT, São Lourenço, III-130, f. 1 b).

⁴⁶ Gonçalo Mendes to D. Manuel, loc. cit., CA, III, p. 320; João de Avila to D. Manuel, loc. cit., CA, III, p. 321.

⁴⁷ João de Avila to D. Manuel, loc. cit., CA, III, p. 322.

⁴⁸ Ibid., the *Kōḷaṭhiri* to D. Manuel, *sumário*, CA, III, p. 334.

⁴⁹ The *Kōḷaṭhiri* to D. Manuel, loc. cit., CA, III, p. 334; João de Avila to D. Manuel, loc. cit., CA, III, p. 322.

⁵⁰ João de Avila to D. Manuel, loc. cit., CA, III, p. 322. The laconicism of the *sumário* overshadows the circumstances surrounding this request for 5,000 *crúzados*. This is probably one of the clauses of the agreement on ginger referred to in a letter from Albuquerque, taken from another more explicit *sumário*. Henceforth all Portuguese goods were to be paid for in cash, at least to the value of 5,000 *crúzados*. The payment was to be completed, as necessary by 5,000 *quintais* of pepper and 1,000 *quintais* of ginger or more. (Afonso de Albuquerque to D. Manuel, *sumário*, CA, I, p. 436). This requirement was a way for Albuquerque to obtain locally the currency needed by the *Estado da Índia* and so avoid having to bring any in from Europe. He had in fact expressed concern on this point to D. Manuel at the end of 1510 when he had proposed that the spices be distributed in the East by the Portuguese (Afonso de Albuquerque to D. Manuel, s.l., 4 Nov. 1510, *sumário*, CA, I, p. 425); cf. on this subject Godinho, *Economie*, p. 630.

⁵¹ João de Avila to D. Manuel, *sumário*, CA, III, p. 323.

⁵² Ibid., CA, III, pp. 322–3.

⁵³ The *Kōḷaṭhiri* to D. Manuel, *sumário*, CA, III, p. 335. The list of seizures made off Honāvar in February 1510 shows that several ships from Ormuz carrying goods from Malabar and the Maldives (rice, ginger, pepper, cowries) were taken, CA, III, pp. 13, 16, 17.

⁵⁴ The *Kōḷaṭhiri* to D. Manuel, *sumário*, CA, III, p. 335.

⁵⁵ Ibid.; Rodrigo Rabelo to D. Manuel, *sumário*, CA, III, p. 319; João de Avila to the same, *sumário*, CA, III, p. 322; Gonçalo Mendes to the same, *sumário*, CA, III, p. 319.

⁵⁶ João de Avila to D. Manuel, *sumário*, CA, III, p. 323.

⁵⁷ João de Avila to D. Manuel, loc. cit., CA, III, pp. 325–6.

⁵⁸ Julião Nunes to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 14 Oct. 1510, CA, III, p. 311.

⁵⁹ Mandado, Cannanore, 6 Aug. 1509, quoted by Silva Rego, *Documentação para a história das missões do padroado português do Oriente*, India, I (1499–1522), Lisbon, 1947, doc. 7.

⁶⁰ The Kōlāthiri to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 335.

⁶¹ Rodrigo Rabelo was held in esteem by Albuquerque who called him 'homem de bem' in a letter to D. Manuel (sumário, CA, I, p. 445) and who entrusted him with the command of Goa. The last mandado he signed in Cannanore is dated 10 Dec. 1510 (CA, VI, p. 405) and the first one commissioned by Manuel da Cunha 12 Dec. (CA, VI, pp. 405–6). Both these men were to be killed in 1511 defending Goa (Barros, II/6–8, p. 299). For information on the dates of succession of the Cannanore captains, cf. J. Aubin, *Albuquerque et les négociations de Cambaye*, in *MLI*, vol. 1 (1971), p. 28, n. 52.

⁶² Castanheda, III/42, p. 106.

⁶³ Castanheda, III/45, p. 113. Manuel da Cunha had unsealed and redirected the letters of Nuno Vaz de Castelo Branco, the *feitor* and the *alcaide* of Cochín which exposed the actions of Duarte de Lemos.

⁶⁴ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 2 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p. 175.

⁶⁵ Castanheda, III/46, p. 114.

⁶⁶ H.C.P. Bell, *The Maldiv Islands*, Colombo, 1940, p. 24.

⁶⁷ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 87.

⁶⁸ Bell, op. cit., pp. 24–5.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 24.

⁷⁰ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 87.

⁷¹ João de Avila to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 323.

⁷² Mandado, Cannanore, 31 Oct. 1511, CA, VII, p. 25; mandado, Goa, 4 Nov. 1511, CA, VI, 474, among others.

⁷³ João de Avila to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 323.

⁷⁴ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, pp. 88–9. In this letter the Governor refers to an incident which set the Muslim merchants of Cannanore against the Portuguese. The latter had entered into the horse trade with the rāja of Comorin. In order to remove these rivals, the Cannanore merchants had bribed the rāja with the result that the Portuguese lost the business, their horses and their profits. Albuquerque's text indicates that Mamale was involved in this operation but gives no detail of the actual role he played.

⁷⁵ Several recibos (Goa, 7 Feb., 16 March, 31 March and 5 Oct. 1511, CA, VI, pp. 417, 420, 421, 462–3) disclose the names of the rice suppliers, Mamale and Içapocar, both of them from Cannanore. This rice was delivered as the result of a contract between the *feitor* of Cannanore and Içapocar who can be identified here as Mamale's brother (*vide infra*, p. 123). The Kōlāthiri's minister played a part in this trade and instructed his agent to deliver rice to Goa (recibo, Goa, 4 Nov. 1511, CA, VI, p. 474).

⁷⁶ D. Francisco de Almedia to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 5 Dec. 1508, quoted by Correia, I/2, p. 907.

⁷⁷ Castanheda, II/20, p. 256.

⁷⁸ This hypothesis is suggested by Barbosa who writes: 'The king of these islands is chosen by certain Muslims, Cannanore merchants, who replace him when it suits them' (Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 104).

⁷⁹ He was the son of Yūsuf III, who had overthrown Kalu Muḥammad in

1492, according to the *Ta'rib* (Bell, *The Maldive Islands*, Colombo, 1940, p. 24).

⁸⁰ Bell, op. cit., p. 25.

⁸¹ Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Dec. 1520, *Alg. Dec.*, p. 449. *Rasquim* = rascan = king according to Pyrard (I, p. 353).

⁸² Alvaro Fernandes, *ibid.*

⁸³ Correia, II/1, p. 129.

⁸⁴ It should be noted here that in the fourteenth century Bengal was the principal supplier of rice to the archipelago, since it is only referred to by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (vol. 4, p. 122) and Wang Ta-Yuan (in Rockhill, *Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century*, T'oung Pao, vol. 16 (1915), p. 388). At the very beginning of the sixteenth century five or six large ships were bringing it in every year from Bengal (Valentim Fernandes, in M.A.H. Fitzler, 'Die Maldiven im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, vol. 10 (1935/36), p. 254). It is likely that Bengal carried on supplying the islands in part, in spite of the increasing presence of Malabar rice on the markets.

⁸⁵ Barbosa/Dames, vol. 1, p. 197.

⁸⁶ Barros, II/6-8, p. 294, and 6-10, p. 312; Castanheda, III/64-70, pp. 161-77; Góis, III/20-1, pp. 88-95.

⁸⁷ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 41; Brás, III/44, p. 64.

⁸⁸ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, loc. cit., CA, I, p. 49; Castanheda, III/79, p. 195.

⁸⁹ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 12 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 86.

⁹⁰ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 48. According to Castanheda (III/80, p. 198) it was to Mamale that the Kōḷaṭhīri gave the title of king.

⁹¹ Bell, *The Maldive Islands*, 1940, pp. 24-5.

⁹² Afonso de Albuquerque wrote: 'At the beginning of August, after my arrival in Cochin and having come from Malacca'. This can only be August 1512, Albuquerque having returned to Cochin in February. The date of his letter should not be taken too seriously (Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 48) as he must have started writing it in April and added to it over several months as he had already done with another '*via*' (*Ibid.*, CA, I, p. 64). In fact Albuquerque's reference to some correspondence given to him by Pero Mascarenhas (*ibid.*, CA, I, p. 64) and to the arrival of D. Garcia and Jorge de Melo. Pero Mascarenhas landed at Cochin at the end of May 1512 (Castanheda, III/80, p. 198) D. Garcia and Jorge de Melo arrived in India on 15 August according to Barros (II/7-3, p. 321), on 20 August according to Brás (III/45, p. 166) and Góis (III/29, p. 124) and in September according to Castanheda (III/88, p. 213).

⁹³ TdT., *Cartas orientais*, n° 9. This letter was found, published and translated by M. Jean Aubin in *MLI*, vol. 2 (1973), pp. 201-11. An ancient translation of another *via* appears in CA, V, pp. 5-7, also printed in *MLI*, *ibid.*, pp. 212-14.

⁹⁴ Bābā ʿAbdullah to D. Manuel, S.l.n.d., f. 1 a.

⁹⁵ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 48.

⁹⁶ Castanheda, III/80, p. 198.

⁹⁷ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 87.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, CA, I, p. 88.

⁹⁹ These vessels were manned by Gujaratis according to Giovanni da Empoli (*Lettera di Giovanni da Empoli*, introduzione e note a cura di A. Bausani, Roma, 1970, p. 64). Giovanni da Empoli was the agent in Lisbon of the Gualterrotti and the Frescobaldi of Bruges. He accompanied Albuquerque to India in 1503 and again in 1510. He took part in the Malacca expedition, was *feitor* in Sumatra in 1515 and died in China in 1517.

¹⁰⁰ Empoli, loc. cit., pp. 64–6; Barros, II/71, pp. 315–16; Brás, III/43, pp. 161–2; Castanheda, III/78, p. 194.

¹⁰¹ Empoli, loc. cit., p. 65.

¹⁰² Brás, III/43, pp. 161–2. Albuquerque refers to Muḥammad Mesri's visit to the Maldives in a letter to D. Manuel (Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 130) and in another, states that he had made his landing at 'Candaluz' and Male (Cannanore, 4 Dec. 1513, CA, IV, p. 179). Muḥammad Mesri (Arabic *miṣri* > pg. *macary*) means Muḥammad the Egyptian.

¹⁰³ Empoli, loc. cit., p. 66. Gaspar Correia gives quite a different version of the same incident: according to him Simão de Andrade lost his way among the islands and was found and repatriated along with all his possessions by Mamale of Cannanore's agents. Correia states quite firmly here that the islands had been given to Mamale by the Governor himself in exchange for the coir tribute negotiated in September 1510 (*vide supra*, p. 112).

¹⁰⁴ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, pp. 48–9.

¹⁰⁵ Barros, II/7–3, p. 324; Castanheda, III/89, p. 214; Góis, III/26, pp. 110–11.

¹⁰⁶ Bābā Abdullah to D. Manuel, loc. cit., f. 1a-1b.

¹⁰⁷ A mandado dated 30 Nov. 1512 mentions the preparations for the departure from Cochin of the *Sant'Antônio* on which Albuquerque was to sail; another mandado was signed by him in Cannanore, on 6 Oct. 1512 (CA, V, p. 214).

¹⁰⁸ The Kōḷaṭhiri had written to the Governor while the latter was still in Cochin as evidenced by a mandado requesting that his messenger be rewarded (Cochin, 11 Aug. 1512, CA, V, p. 498). The text of this letter has not been traced—it could possibly reveal the reasons for its author's dissatisfaction.

¹⁰⁹ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 85.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, The name of the minister is revealed in a mandado dated 16 July 1510, recording a gift of sugar to 'Nambiador algozill moor del rey de Cananor' (CA, VI, p. 389).

¹¹¹ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 86.

¹¹² Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 49; Castanheda, III/79, p. 195.

¹¹³ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 85. Political crime was sometimes considered to be a totally justifiable necessity. According to the *Arthaśāstra*, a prince who persists in behaving in an irregular manner must be assassinated or poisoned by secret agents (R. P. Kangle, *The Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, Bombay, 1963, vol. 2, p. 44, 17/1).

¹¹⁴ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 85. The person in question is probably the one the Cannanore Muslims eliminated while he was journeying to Calicut to bear testimony to the power and generosity of the king of Portugal (Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 20 Aug. 1512, CA, I, p. 73).

¹¹⁵ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, pp. 85–6.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹¹⁷ Koya Pakki, his wife and his sons took refuge in Cannanore shortly after the attack on the Calicut *feitoria* in 1500. Their presence in Cannanore is affirmed by the same letter of 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 86.

¹¹⁸ Bābā ʿAbdullah, who has provided the names of these witnesses, gives here the Arabic form of the name of the one the Portuguese called 'Pocaracem' and who will be dealt with later.

¹¹⁹ Bābā ʿAbdullah to D. Manuel, loc. cit., f. 1 a.

¹²⁰ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, pp. 87–8.

¹²¹ 'Quymdiquel' or 'Candical', the fourth atoll south of Minicoy (Maliku) according to one of the anonymous maps compiled by Bartolomeu Velho and reproduced in A. Cortesão, *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica*, Lisbon, 1960, vol. 2, p. 234.

¹²² D. Francisco de Almedia to D. Manuel, sumário, 27 Dec. 1506, CA, II, p. 393.

¹²³ Regimento of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, 13 Nov. 1508, in *Alg. Doc.*, p. 192; CA, II, pp. 413–14.

¹²⁴ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 88.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 86, 'he homem mole'.

¹²⁷ The *beledi* ginger of Calicut is superior in quality to the *eli* ginger of Cannanore, Godinho, *Economie*, p. 583.

¹²⁸ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 87.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 89, 'boom homem e de boom saber'.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹³¹ Bābā ʿAbdullah to D. Manuel, loc. cit., f. 1 b. This document was countersigned by the witnesses referred to above, *vide supra*, p. 128.

¹³² Castanheda, III/89, p. 214, adds that these jewels were sent by Albuquerque to D. Manuel.

¹³³ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, p. 90. Two Cannanore mandados, dated 11 and 13 October 1512 give reports in the one case on a 'galiote' and in the other on a galley 'que foy de Mamale', CA, V, pp. 222 and 228. They are probably one and the same boat.

¹³⁴ We quote here for information H. Fitzler's study entitled 'Die Maldiven im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', in *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, vol. 10 (1935–6) which recounts the same events (pp. 224–6), but interprets the Portuguese texts in such a way that serious doubts are raised: for example, Mrs Fitzler presents Icapocar as the brother of the Sultan Hasan and not of Mamale (*ibid.*, p. 225).

¹³⁵ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 30.

¹³⁶ Duarte Barbosa to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 12 Jan. 1513, CA, III, p. 48; Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 2 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p. 176.

¹³⁷ Duarte Barbosa to D. Manuel, loc. cit., CA, III, pp. 48, 50, 51. He took up the post of secretary left open by the death of João de Avila.

¹³⁸ Albuquerque accused Barbosa of being a trouble maker 'porque ele he lymguoa e causa de todas estas revoltas...'. (Cannanore. 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 134).

¹³⁹ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 33; the same to the same, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 89).

¹⁴⁰ Duarte Barbosa to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 12 Jan. 1513, CA, III, p. 48.

¹⁴¹ Jorge de Melo to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 28 Dec. 1514, CA, IV, p. 22.

¹⁴² Duarte Barbosa, *ibid.* I am inclined to recognize this Pocaracem as the Fukar Husayn of Malabar referred to by Bābā ʿAbdullah (*loc. cit.*, f. 1 b).

¹⁴³ Pocaracem to D. Manuel, *sumário*, CA, III, pp. 336–7.

¹⁴⁴ Duarte Barbosa to D. Manuel, *loc. cit.*, CA, III, p. 48.

¹⁴⁵ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 2 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p. 176.

¹⁴⁶ António Real to D. Manuel, Cochin, 15 Dec. 1512, CA, III, p. 347. Real's comments include a good many false accusations which were later to be embellished and used in the charge made against Albuquerque at the end of 1513, instigated among others by António Real (*cf.* Castanheda, III/123–5, pp. 300–7).

Albuquerque, on the other hand, was careful not to judge his men in an arbitrary manner; he only considered Diogo Correia's defence after he had ordered an investigation into his behaviour (to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 2 Dec. 1513, CA, I, pp. 176–8).

¹⁴⁷ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 2 Dec. 1513, CA, I, pp. 176–8.

¹⁴⁸ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 36. That particular year the ships loaded with cargo had not awaited the return of Albuquerque before returning to Portugal: the Governor was presented with the fait accompli.

¹⁴⁹ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 89.

¹⁵⁰ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 2 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p. 177.

¹⁵¹ Castanheda, III/89, p. 215. In a letter to D. Manuel, written from Cannanore on 28 November 1514, Albuquerque accuses Gaspar Pereira of having spoiled everybody: 'danou Antonio Reall, ... Jorge de Melo e el-Rey de Cannanore que ainda agora diziam que quertiam esperar se vinha outro governador' (CA, I, p. 351).

¹⁵² Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 89; Castanheda, III/89, pp. 214–15. One year later the Kōlāṭhīri was complaining of the trouble caused by the Portuguese expropriating goods from their debtors (the Kōlāṭhīri to D. Manuel, s.l.n.d., TdT, *Cartas orientais*).

¹⁵³ António Real to D. Manuel, Cochin, 15 Dec. 1512, CA, III, pp. 337–8.

¹⁵⁴ António Real to Albuquerque, s.l.n.d., CA, II, p. 39.

¹⁵⁵ The same to D. Manuel, Cochin, 15 Dec. 1512, CA, III, pp. 340–1. The Cochin and Cannanore garrisons were made up of only eighty men each (Albuquerque to D. Martinho, s.l.n.d., CA, I, p. 410). Albuquerque himself demanded that the king provide him with equipment, Bhaṭkaḷ 18 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 91). Some of the mandados bear testimony to this deprivation: distribution of old breast plates being given away, in order to make new ones, Cannanore mandados, 6 and 7 Nov. 1510, CA, IV, 287–9).

¹⁵⁶ The *Rey Grande* and the *Cirne* (António Real to D. Manuel, Cochin, 15 Dec. 1512, CA, III, p. 348).

¹⁵⁷ The same to the same, *loc. cit.*, p. 353.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 338, 350, 351.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 349.

¹⁶⁰ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 86.

¹⁶¹ The purchase of horses from Pocaracem is recorded in a mandado (Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, V, p. 221). Pocaracem made a 'nao malabar' available to the Portuguese forces who were leaving for Goa (Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Goa, 23 Nov. 1512, CA, I, p. 101); this was possibly the *sambuco* of horses transported to Goa and mentioned in the Cannanore mandado dated 14 Oct. 1512 (CA, VII, p. 52).

¹⁶² Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 2 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p. 176.

¹⁶³ Correia, II/2, p. 502.

¹⁶⁴ The last mandado he signed in Cannanore is dated 15 October 1512 (CA, V, p. 230).

¹⁶⁵ Diogo Correia was to be killed in Goa some weeks later (Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 2 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p. 178; Barros, II/7-4, p. 328; Castanheda, III/91, p. 221). Bābā ʿAbdullah was not then sent back as claimed by Castanheda (III/89, p. 214), but accompanied Albuquerque to Goa (Bābā ʿAbdullah to D. Manuel, loc.cit., f. l b).

¹⁶⁶ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochín, 20 Aug. 1512, CA, I, pp. 78-9.

¹⁶⁷ The same to the same, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 122.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 124.

¹⁶⁹ João de Ávila to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 325.

¹⁷⁰ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochín, 20 Aug. 1512, CA, I, pp. 78-9.

¹⁷¹ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, s.l., 4 Nov. 1510, sumário, CA, I, p. 419.

¹⁷² Albuquerque to Duarte Galvão, s.l.n.d., CA, I, p. 407.

¹⁷³ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 152; Albuquerque to D. Martinho, s.l.n.d., CA, I, p. 409.

¹⁷⁴ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 122.

¹⁷⁵ The Kōḷaṭhīri to Martim Afonso de Sousa, s.l.n.d., TdT, São Lourenço, III/130 f. 2 a.

¹⁷⁶ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochín, 20 Aug. 1512, CA, I, pp. 78-9.

¹⁷⁷ The same to the same, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 152.

¹⁷⁸ The same to the same, Cannanore, 4 Dec. 1513, CA, IV, pp. 183-5.

¹⁷⁹ The same to the same, Goa, 8 Nov. 1512, CA, I, pp. 99-100.

¹⁸⁰ The same to the same, Cochín, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 38.

¹⁸¹ The same to the same, Cochín, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 48.

¹⁸² 'com a barba sobelo ombro', literally 'with the beard over the shoulder', the same to the same, Cochín, 4 Dec. 1513, CA, IV, p. 186.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 131.

¹⁸⁵ The king of Cochín to D. Manuel, Cochín, 1 Dec. 1512, CA, III, p. 39.

¹⁸⁶ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Goa, 6 Dec. 1512, CA, I, p. 383; Barros, II/7-6, p. 338; Castanheda, III/99, pp. 240-1; Góis, II/44, p. 175.

¹⁸⁷ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochín, 4 Dec. 1513, CA, IV, p. 180; Góis, III/30, p. 131.

¹⁸⁸ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 131.

¹⁸⁹ Castanheda, III/103, p. 251. According to Damião de Góis, the Portuguese negotiators set off sometime after 10 Feb. 1513 (III/30, p. 131) but before 18, the date on which Albuquerque left for Aden (Francesco Corbinelli to D. Manuel, Goa, 22 Oct. 1513, CA, III, p. 68); 'neste meyo tempo morreu ho camorym' ('the Zamorin had died in the meantime') (Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 13 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 152).

¹⁹⁰ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 152. He was replaced at the Cannanore *feitoria* by Rui da Costa (mandado, Cannanore, 5 Jan. 1513, TdT, CC II-62-76).

¹⁹¹ Duarte Barbosa to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 15 Jan. 1513, CA, III, pp. 49-50.

¹⁹² Albuquerque set forth the reasons for the importance of the Goa market on

many occasions, notably in CA, I, pp. 410–13 (to D. Martinho, s.l.n.d.), and CA, I, pp. 199–202 (to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 4 Dec. 1513).

¹⁹³ Castanheda, III/95, p. 229.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 229–30.

¹⁹⁵ Góis, III/44, p. 174. The local chronicles (*Rāyavāchakamu* and *Kṛṣṇarāja-vijayam*) estimate at 24,000 horses the strength of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's cavalry at the beginning of his reign (K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture*, Poona, 1941, pp. 124–5).

¹⁹⁶ Castanheda, III/95, pp. 230–1.

¹⁹⁷ 'Nam entrarem cavalos d'Arabia e de Persia em outro nenhum porto senam em Goa' (Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 4 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p. 241).

¹⁹⁸ 'a soberba de Cananor enfreada' (Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochín, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 56).

¹⁹⁹ Mandado, Goa, 30 Dec. 1512, two lengths of fabric for the ambassador to the king of the islands, CA, V, pp. 336–7; mandado, Goa, 5 Jan. 1513, a 'mourisco' shield for the same, CA, V, p. 345. It seems that Bābā Ábdu'llah was not 'Bacalos', the king of the islands' messenger, who fought in Banastarim and, by way of payment for his services, received one *cruzado* in wages and the equivalent of one *cruzado* in provisions each month (mandado, Goa, 4 Oct. 1513, CA, II, p. 116); this was probably someone in his retinue.

²⁰⁰ Bābā Ábdu'llah to D. Manuel, loc.cit., f. 1 b.

²⁰¹ Ibid., f. 2 a.

²⁰² Literally 'full of betel and negresses' (Albuquerque to D. Martinho, s.l.n.d., CA, I, p. 468).

²⁰³ Albuquerque, without wishing to expose anybody, suspected certain people of giving in to corruption (to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 153).

²⁰⁴ Lourenço Moreno to D. Manuel, Cochín, 22 Nov. 1513, CA, III, p. 38; António Real to Afonso de Albuquerque, s.l.n.d., CA, II, p. 42.

²⁰⁵ Duarte Barbosa to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 12 Jan. 1513, CA, III, pp. 49–50.

²⁰⁶ Castanheda, III/110, p. 271.

²⁰⁷ These figures are given by Jorge de Melo (to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 28 Dec. 1514, CA, IV, p. 18). According to Castanheda, the *feitor* had lent the money with interest (III/110, p. 271).

²⁰⁸ Jorge de Melo to D. Manuel, loc. cit., CA, IV, p. 16.

²⁰⁹ Castanheda, III/110, pp. 271–2.

²¹⁰ Jorge de Melo to D. Manuel, loc.cit, CA, IV, p. 19.

²¹¹ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 4 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p. 181.

²¹² Jorge de Melo to D. Manuel, loc.cit., CA, IV, pp. 20–1.

²¹³ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Calicut, 24 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p. 251.

²¹⁴ Castanheda, III/119, p. 291; Barros, II/8–6, pp. 382–3.

²¹⁵ Castanheda, III/110, p. 272.

²¹⁶ The Governor returned to Goa on 20 September (Francesco Corbinelli to D. Manuel, Goa, 22 Oct. 1513, CA, III, p. 68). D. Garcia must have returned some days earlier as evidenced by the mandado dated 12 Sept. 1513 in Goa, which recorded that a gift of four *pardaos* and one *tafsir* had been given to the person who had taken D. Garcia's reply to the king of Calicut, CA, VII, p. 92.

²¹⁷ Jorge de Melo to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 28 Dec. 1514, CA, IV, p. 19;

Castanheda, III/122, p. 297. Re Pocaracem cf. also Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 134; the same to the same, Cochin, 1 Jan. 1514, CA, I, p. 260; Gonçalo Mendes and Francisco Nogueira to Albuquerque, (Calicut), 27 May 1514, CA, VII, p. 124.

²¹⁸ The names of the two Nayar interpreters—'Qalecut Nambiar' and 'Sol'—were disclosed by the king of Cochin (to D. Manuel, Cochin, 11 Dec. 1513, CA, III, p. 83; the same to the same, Cochin, 20 Dec. 1513, CA, III, p. 75). Albuquerque hired the services offered by Nambiar and Pocaracem in this instance, (to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 152; Cannanore, 24 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p. 249; Calicut, 28 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p. 152, Cannanore, 24 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p. 249; Calicut, 28 Dec. 1513, CA, I, pp. 251, 253).

²¹⁹ *Vide supra*, note 33.

²²⁰ Mandados, Goa, 6 Sept. 1513, CA, VII, p. 90; 12 Sept. 1513, CA, VII, p. 92.

²²¹ Castanheda, III/122, p. 299; mandado, Cannanore, 27 Sept. 1513, CA, VII, p. 14.

²²² Capítulos de concerto de paz que fez D. Garcia de Noronha, sobrinho de Afonso de Albuquerque e per sua ordem com o Çamorim, 1 Oct. 1513, CA, II, pp. 111-125.

²²³ Jorge de Melo to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 28 Dec. 1514, CA, IV, p. 22.

²²⁴ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p. 151.

²²⁵ The king of Cochin to D. Manuel, Cochin, 11 Dec. 1513, CA, III, p. 81 sqq; the same to the same, Cochin, 20 Nov. 1513, CA, III, p. 73 sqq.

²²⁶ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 133; Castanheda, III/122, p. 299.

²²⁷ Castanheda, III/120, p. 292.

²²⁸ These safe conducts had originally been issued for Ormuz by the captain of the fortress, in spite of the Governor's prohibition. (Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 125; Barros, II/8-6, p. 381).

²²⁹ Castanheda, II/120, p. 292.

²³⁰ Brás, IV/17, pp. 278-9.

²³¹ The Kōlāthiri to D. Manuel, s.l.n.d., TdT, Cartas orientais.

²³² Jorge de Melo to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 28 Dec. 1514, CA, IV, pp. 21-2.

²³³ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 134; TdT, Chancelaria of D. Manuel, X, f. 3 b. Gonçalo Mendes was appointed *feitor* of Calicut (mandados, Calicut, 18 Dec 1513, CA, VII, pp. 104-5).

²³⁴ The Kōlāthiri to D. Manuel, s.l., H. 920/1514, TdT, Cartas orientais, n° 53.

²³⁵ Jorge de Melo to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 28 Dec. 1514, CA, IV, p. 21. The Cannanore shipbuilders had been authorized to send three vessels to Ormuz provided that the horses were directed to Goa (Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Goa, Cannanore, 27 Nov. 1514, CA, I, p. 345).

²³⁶ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 4 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p. 241; the same to the same, Goa, 27 Nov. 1514, CA, I, pp. 340-3; Castanheda, III/118, pp. 289-90; Brás, IV/27, pp. 314-15.

²³⁷ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 3 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p. 191.

²³⁸ Capítulos de concerto de paz, loc. cit., CA, II, p. 114.

²³⁹ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Goa, 20 Oct. 1514, CA, I, p. 268. The supplies of ginger received by Gonçalo Mendes, which amounted to 11,065 *quintais* over a period of four years (6 Sept. 1508 to December 1512) fell back to 4,648 *quintais*

under his successor Pero Homem over a period of three years (1514–17). The fall in pepper supplies was even more acute (8,971 *quintais* to 388) according to the chart drawn up by Nunes Dias, *O capitalismo monarquico portugues*, Coimbra, 1964, vol. 2, p. 126. Moreover, the Goa *feitor* had recently started to grow ginger on the land around the town (Francesco Corbinelli to D. Manuel, Goa, 22 Oct. 1513, CA, III, pp. 69–70).

²⁴⁰ The Kōlāthiri to Martim Afonso de Sousa, s.l.n.d., TdT, São Lourenço, III-30, f. 1 b, 2 a-b.

²⁴¹ Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, pp. 130–52. M. Nunes Dias has drawn up some comparative charts showing the movements of the Indian *feitorias* and giving an indication as to the role played by Cannanore. (*O capitalismo monarquico portugues (1415–1549)*, vol. 2, pp. 127, 132, 341).

²⁴² Albuquerque to D. Manuel, *ibid.*, p. 138.

²⁴³ Among other things the plague (Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. 16, pp. 436–7; Ibn Iyās, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, ed. Wiet, Paris, 1955, vol. 2, p. 289), the Mamelukes' refusal to serve without being paid (Ibn Iyās, pp. 291, 300, 302, 309–10) the Behara troubles and the threats imposed on Egypt by the Portuguese expedition to the Red Sea (*ibid.*, pp. 335–7, 340–1, 354, 356).

²⁴⁴ Bābā Ḥbdullah to D. Manuel, *loc. cit.*, f. 1 b.

VI. 'Regent of the Sea'

The events following Afonso de Albuquerque's death gave Mamale of Cannanore the opportunity he needed to fulfil his plans. Lopo Soares de Albergaria, the newly appointed Governor of India, was instructed not to carry on the policies of his predecessor. Albuquerque's disgrace, fuelled by the incessant accusations of his adversaries, had culminated in 1514 in the news of his defeat off Aden. Lopo Soares was in a particularly strong position to undo Albuquerque's work since he was attended by his most virulent enemies.¹

The Governor's priority was the conquest of the Red Sea. The preparations, then the expedition itself, gave him neither the time nor the inclination to stay and sort out the problems of Malabar. His surprising nonchalance, which was to be the hallmark of his character for the duration of his appointment, resulted in the local factions becoming complacent. It was his ill will towards the Zamorin which, although not enough to renew the war, paved the way for future conflicts.²

A few days after his arrival in Goa, in September 1515,³ Lopo Soares had visited Cannanore. Here he had received an audience with the Kōḷaṭhiri to whom he had offered a precious necklace⁴ and presented Simão da Silveira, Jorge de Melo's successor at the fortress,⁵ who had immediately set about preparing the Red Sea fleet.⁶ The only reference to this visit is contained in various records relating to the administration of the small Indo-Portuguese community living at the citadel. The number of people employed at the garrison and the composition of the Christian parish can be pieced together from archive documents. The first consisted of seventy soldiers, six bombardiers, a sentry, a gaoler and a caretaker; in addition the *feitor* and the *alcaide-mor* had staffs of five and six respectively.⁷ The second comprised several social groupings which are more difficult to identify. The advantages enjoyed by the converted had resulted in an increase in the number of proselytes from among the low castes and the poorest classes of the Muslim population and the Portuguese chaplains had quickly become overwhelmed by the problems associated with receiving, helping and accommodating these newly baptized Christians, particularly since the conversions were seen by the local people

as a way of freeing themselves from the bondage which tied them to the Hindu castes. The higher castes protested at these desertions, which had worried Albuquerque and prompted him to order that no one was to be baptized without first making sure that he was free of obligations; he had no wish to offend the Nāyars and Brahmins whose co-operation he sought.⁸ The effect of this was to reduce the number of conversions which, according to Tomé Pires, were 'less frequent than they used to be'.⁹

In spite of this, the Christian population was still growing and creating increasing responsibilities within the community. Each Sunday alms were distributed—probably in the form of food—to prevent the women from killing at birth the children they were afraid they would be unable to provide for.¹⁰ Upon his arrival, Simão da Silveira found a community of some three hundred and fifty native Christians, half of whom were from the Tiyan or Mukkuvan castes, and a quarter of Muslim extraction.¹¹ About twenty *casados* families were employed at the fortress.¹² A document dated 1518 specifies that the religious services were conducted by a priest and two chaplains and that all doctrinal teaching was undertaken by two clerks.¹³ The administration of the hospital, reputed to be the best in Malabar, was another area of responsibility. A *provedor*, a secretary and a surgeon—who was also an apothecary—treated and fed not only the sick and wounded from the fortress but also those sent from Cochin and Goa.¹⁴ So many invalids, an ever mounting drain on the citadel's economy, had a paralysing effect on the military system. The latter was now defended by nothing more than the weakest elements of the army, in other words by recruits who, little more than children, were joining the Portuguese armadas in increasing numbers¹⁵ and were called *ratinhos* by D. João de Lima.¹⁶ Since the older combatants were deployed on overseas campaigns, the Cannanore fortress could no longer offer a resistance to the Muslims.

Mamale did not need to resort to force to become increasingly involved in the activities of the town. The Portuguese authorities were no longer concerned about his movements, and the Kōḷaṭṭhiri was preoccupied with his war against the rāja of Kōṭṭa who had granted himself the right to mint money.¹⁷ It would seem that the Nātuvāri had not been replaced, and it is possible that Mamale was responsible for bringing discredit on the last of the line in order to persuade the Kōḷaṭṭhiri of the insignificance of this office which

would henceforth be assumed by the *regedor* of the Muslims. All the documents dated after 1512 (the year which marked the death of the Nāṭuvāri) refer only to this latter and exclusive authority. It is certain that Mamale bore the title of 'Regedor de Cananor',¹⁸ but it is not known when exactly it became an official duty.

Not only was it important for Mamale to assert his authority in the town, he also had to combat the decline for which Albuquerque had been responsible. He had to gain a hold in those territories not yet exploited by the Portuguese, who controlled Ormuz, Goa and Malacca, but whose defeat off Aden made their position everywhere else precarious. Most of the Malabar merchants, rather than involve themselves in Portuguese trade, preferred to go to Pulicat from where they could travel to Malacca on board the Gujarati ships.¹⁹ Mamale thus decided to reconquer the Maldive atolls which were frequented by all who sailed the Indian Ocean.²⁰ The presence of the Portuguese in Calicut had had the effect of turning away from Kerala the Arab and Gujarati ships which had to carry back to their home ports products from the Gulf of Bengal, pepper from Sumatra and spices from the Malay archipelago.²¹ Such a long journey, which they could not complete during one monsoon, forced them to rest each year on the islands.²² By making sure he was there on their arrival, Mamale's intention was to take over the role previously held by the Malabar ports. By reintroducing the coir tribute he made sure of being able to provide rigging for the Cambay and Red Sea fleets; he also supplied them with locally produced food and imported goods from Malabar. In addition, the disturbances which had broken out in Ceylon in 1513²³ had enabled him to gain favour with the king of Kōṭṭē and to secure for himself the best cinnamon. After Albuquerque's death and as has been seen, he once more demanded that Kalu Muḥammad pay a tribute equal to half the archipelago's income, including two years' arrears.²⁴ He was quick to re-establish the influence he had once had over the weak Sultan, and continued to support him against Alī's brother and partisans.²⁵ If Castanheda is to be believed—and his delayed testimony certainly raises doubts—a rival power had seized 'Candaluz' and the southern atolls;²⁶ it was probably quickly removed, because the report on the Maldives situation, written in 1520 by Alvaro Fernandes, does not refer to it.²⁷

Having been a victim of Albuquerque's policy, Mamale was

attempting to benefit from the new conditions arising out of it. The relaxing of the Portuguese authority, the weak state of the Cannanore fortress and the decline of the Kōḷaṭhīri favoured his increasing influence in the city. The economic situation, marked by the Portuguese seizure of Malacca and Calicut, gave them the eastern spice route, but the Cambay customers from the Arab world remained out of their reach. While maintaining still courteous relations with the Goa government, the Gujaratis, far from fulfilling Albuquerque's dreams, took no part in the Portuguese trade but instead collected their own spices in Indonesia and sold them to the Red Sea merchants who came to their ports.²⁸ Because the islands were a staging post, Mamale was to participate in this new stream of trading and contribute with products from Malabar and Ceylon.

Ever since D. Francisco de Almeida's warning at the end of 1508,²⁹ the routes used by the spice convoys had been a constant source of worry to the Portuguese. The urgency of the Red Sea blockade, and the incessant outbreaks of war around Goa had meant that reconnaissance missions had only been possible as far as the Cape of Camorin. Although some captains, attracted by the wealth of takings available, had sometimes taken up position off the Maldives, none had been willing to take the risk of becoming trapped in the maze of the atolls and sea channels which were ideal for ambushes. The disappointing contacts D. Lourenço had made in Ceylon with the king of Kōṭṭē had not been followed up and the agreements which Albuquerque had concluded with the princes of Kollam had been tragically interrupted. But D. Manuel, who would let no obstacles stand in the way of the expansion of his empire, had decided in 1515 to build a fortress on these hostile lands and to check the power of the Muslim traders who had established ports of call there for their foreign trade.

Mamale's position was soon threatened. At the beginning of 1517 D. Guterre de Monroy sent his brother D. Fernando after Jeronimo de Sousa who had fled to the islands with his caravel. D. Fernando took with him João Goncalves de Castelo Branco whose galley was able to negotiate the narrow channels around the atolls. Unable to catch up with the rebel captain, they seized two Cambay vessels which were returning from Sumatra and had

been sailing far from their home ports for several years.³⁰ Such acts of piracy brought protests from the Sultan of Male as well as the merchants of Bengal who had seen several of their ships pillaged.³¹ Upon his return from the Rēd Sea, where he had suffered a defeat, Lopo Soares had to quell these feelings of resentment, a task made all the more difficult by the fact that he was under obligation to fulfil D. Manuel's instructions; the Portuguese had just established themselves in Kollam and Pasai, but they still had to build the Ceylon and Maldives fortresses.

This meant attacking the positions of advantage from which Mamale was reaping all the profits. As the Portuguese campaigns in the southern Indian Ocean unfolded they began to reveal the full extent of the area in which the 'Regedor do mar' had succeeded, in less than three years, in exerting his influence. The first of these campaigns was under the command of D. João da Silveira who was sent to the Maldives at the beginning of 1518.³² Even before he reached Male, the Portuguese squadron of four ships had seized two merchant vessels which were passing fabric between Bengal and Cambay.³³ This act, a repeat of the one committed by D. Fernando, is evidence of the casual attitude towards the interests of Gujarat which Albuquerque had always handled with tact. The merchant circles, however, were beginning to react: a certain Āli Khān had taken command of a squadron of seven oared boats³⁴ for the purpose of escorting the Cambay vessels. It was his practice to stop in the Maldives and he had used all his influence to prevent any coir from being sold to the Portuguese fortresses. D. João had failed to track him down in the labyrinth of the islands, but he was now on his guard. When he dropped anchor in the port of Male he sent word to the Sultan that hostages must be handed over prior to his visit to the royal palace.³⁵ Kalu Muḥammad received him with complacency but was reluctant to grant him permission to build a fortress and agreed only to the construction of a *feitoria*, for which he proposed a site and men.³⁶

Kalu Muḥammad, who was always looking for ways to improve his relations with Portugal, had taken these steps without consulting Mamale, whose yoke he still hoped to shake off. While D. João was returning to Cochin with his takings before setting off for Bengal, Kalu Muḥammad asked Bābā Ābdullah to accompany his vizier to the Governor in order to ratify the clauses of the treaty. It was agreed that one thousand five hundred *bahars* of coir would

be supplied to the Portuguese *feitor* each year and that the ambergris harvest would be divided between the Sultan of the Maldives and the king of Portugal. Lopo Soares personally signed the agreement which was immediately challenged by Mamale who, with one letter, made the Governor go back on his word. The original of this missive has not been found, but through Bābā ʿAbdullah it is known that Mamale himself offered the coir and ambergris referred to in the agreement from his own share. He used his experience of the islands to persuade Lopo Soares to hand over their management to him.³⁷ In fact he proposed that he renew the contract previously agreed with Albuquerque and the execution of which had probably been disturbed by the 1512 crisis. He undertook to give to the Governor all he required provided he did not interfere in the affairs of the islands.

It was more important for Lopo Soares to reach an agreement with the Regent of the Sea than to act against him by allying with a faint-hearted Sultan whom he could not afford to support. He was aware of the influence Mamale had over the king of Kōṭṭē from whom he hoped to obtain permission to construct a fortress. For his part Mamale was anxious not to break openly with the Portuguese and found it profitable to supply them with the coir essential to their fleet.

Consequently Lopo Soares tore up the treaty previously agreed to and drew up a text to suit Mamale which he conveyed to the vizir before he left Cochín. This document gave Mamale the continuing role of 'tax-collector' for half the archipelago.³⁸ A *recibo* kept at the Torre do Tombo is evidence that he fulfilled his obligations to the Portuguese and began to deliver coir to Goa—and no longer to Cannanore—at the beginning of 1519.³⁹ But at the same time he was using his influence to oppose their action everywhere. In Cannanore a revolt was brewing.⁴⁰ D. Aires da Gama, who had been in command of the fortress since the end of 1518, was in no doubt when he wrote: 'in India people are harmful in a more acute and subtle way than anywhere else'.⁴¹ Nonetheless, he had increased the Sunday alms to eighteen bags of black rice per month⁴²—this in a year of shortage—in order to make himself more popular and to encourage conversions. The Kōḷaṭhiri had continued to send letters of complaint to Lisbon, always referring to the same grievances: the behaviour of the captains who took no notice of his advice; the Governor's refusal to allow him to send

emissaries to Lisbon. That the Portuguese agents could directly impose their law on his subjects without reference to his authority was unacceptable to him and he suggested that the fortress captain should make regular visits to Valarpatṭaṇam to keep him informed of his problems. Neither did he tire of demanding authorization to send four or five ships per year to Ormuz and Gujarat.⁴³

Meanwhile, and in spite of the harm done to the Cannanore economy by the Goa monopoly, trade began to pick up once more. The merchants abandoned Vijayanagar, where they could no longer sell horses, and turned towards the open markets of Ceylon and the Maldives. As Calicut had surrendered to the Portuguese, the Cannanore merchants, who always had the Maldives to fall back on, assumed the role of privileged intermediaries between Malabar and Gujarat. The Kōḷaṭhīri also benefited from the archipelago income⁴⁴ and Cannanore took a greater share than before in Cambay's foreign trade. Thus, in January 1519 D. Aires da Gama was able to write that Cannanore controlled the largest sea trade of Malabar.⁴⁵

The Portuguese, who had just established themselves in Ceylon and the Maldives, were now in a position to appreciate the implications of these activities. On 23 December 1518 Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, Lopo Soares' successor, informed D. Manuel that the Colombo fortress was completed.⁴⁶ Upon his return from Bengal, D. João da Silveira had taken command of the citadel which Lopo Soares had imposed on the king of Kōṭṭē in spite of opposition from the Muslims. At his side was António de Miranda de Azevedo who took on the duties of *alcaide-mor* and *capitão-mor do mar*.⁴⁷ At the end of 1519 they both reported on the events which had taken place during the previous year:⁴⁸ certain aspects of their account are complemented by the more specific information contained in a survey commissioned by the Goa government on the collection of cinnamon.⁴⁹ It is these documents which have provided a better understanding of the privileged position held by Mamale in Ceylon and the methods he used to discourage the Portuguese from establishing themselves there.

The newcomers to the island were soon aware of the presence of Mamale's commercial agents who caused them innumerable difficulties. They were so well entrenched on the island that D. João accused them of abusing the trust which had been placed in their words.⁵⁰ They were received by king Vijayabāhu whom they

encouraged to besiege the fortress, confirming that their governor was prepared to give four months pay to anyone trained in warfare by D. João. When he heard these remarks António de Miranda expressed the wish to see all those Mouros 'hanged from their palm trees'. He held them responsible for all the defeats suffered by the Portuguese.⁵¹ For example, they had persuaded the king to order the precious stone merchants to offer nothing to the *feitoria* and to hide their jewels in order to demonstrate the uselessness of the fortress.⁵² They had made every effort to render unacceptable the cinnamon tribute which Vijayabāhu had agreed to fix at four hundred *bahars*.⁵³ They took it to the citadel themselves, in small batches which were never of the agreed weight.⁵⁴ The cinnamon was so bad that the *feitor* had to throw most of it away to prevent any damaged rinds being presented a second time.⁵⁵ This encouraged the Muslims to haggle: they offered two lots for the price of one on condition that they did not have to sort them out,⁵⁶ and offered bribes to the *feitoria* staff to accept whatever they were given.⁵⁷ D. João gave the carriers fabric and betel as an incentive to deliver larger quantities⁵⁸ and often had to check personally, with the help of the two secretaries—Francisco Paes and Gaspar de Araujo—that the tribute was received. Meanwhile, the *feitor*, António de Lemos, was being poisoned by his slaves and was slowly dying.⁵⁹ The monsoon came and went before D. João was able to make up an acceptable cargo. To some extent he made up for what was missing by bribing Mamale's sailors to give him a few bags of good quality cinnamon.⁶⁰ But this cargo, which had been collected at great cost, was to suffer damage because of the poor state of repair of the *Santa Cruz* which was used to transport it and which was so old and riddled with woodworm that water seeped through the deck. Attempts were made to pack the holes, but to no avail; the cinnamon was soaked by the equatorial rains⁶¹ and one of Mamale's ships had to be used—at what price it is not known—to get some of it to Cochin.⁶²

The disappointment suffered by the Portuguese in Ceylon was aggravated by the state of destitution in which the Goa government left them. The precariously constructed fortress was beginning to crumble⁶³ and there was such a shortage of money that the men could not be paid and they began to desert.⁶⁴ The thousand *pardaos* and three hundred bags of rice brought back from Cochin by António de Miranda⁶⁵ had not been sufficient to meet the needs

of the citadel. D. João was forced to spend from his own pocket, borrow money from the *feitor* and various other people and even seize goods belonging to Alexandre de Ataide who was being held prisoner at the fortress.⁶⁶ The letters sent from D. João and António de Miranda to D. Manuel are evidence of this poverty. The help they had requested from Goa was sanctioned on 8 December,⁶⁷ but it came too late to save them from the humiliation of asking two of Mamale's captains for assistance. A *conhecimento* dated 15 November certifies that António de Lemos borrowed fifteen thousand *fanams* for supplies for the garrison. The money was repaid to Mamale by the Cannanore *feitoria*.⁶⁸

Diogo de Sequeira did not allow himself to be manipulated as easily as Lopo Soares and ignored the agreements entered into by the latter. When he informed D. Manuel that the Ceylon fortress had been completed he also announced the departure, scheduled for 24 December 1518, of João Gomes 'Cheira dinheiro' for the Maldives.⁶⁹ This expedition, of which the chroniclers make little mention, can only be pieced together from archive documents. An anonymous report, dated 15 January 1519, gives details of the people involved. With João Gomes, a veteran of India, was Gaspar d'Outel, who took on the duties of *alcaide-mor*, Alvaro Fernandes, who was appointed *feitor* and António de Paiva and Diogo Soares, the two scribes.⁷⁰ Their small squadron was made up of two caravels, a boat and a *paraó*.⁷¹ They obtained permission from Kalu Muḥammad to settle on a steep headland on which they could build huts and sheds. Copying the Cannanore citadel, they fortified the whole with an entrenchment along which were palisades running from one cove to the other.⁷² João Gomes' instructions were to collect coir by bartering it for rice; some of this coir was to be despatched to the Portuguese fortresses, the rest kept in store and sold by the *feitor* to passing ships provided they were not enemies of Portugal.⁷³ But the shortage of rice—and there was much evidence to suggest that this was the case in 1519⁷⁴—meant that João Gomes was not able to amass enough provisions and he therefore adopted the local custom of demanding that all ships anchoring in the area hand over one-fifth of their rice cargo which he exchanged at cost price for the coir he had already collected.⁷⁵

In a letter which was probably written at the beginning of 1519, Bābā Abdullah indicates that some of the islands were still under

the control of Mamale who, with Lopo Soares' support, had been able freely to exploit half of the archipelago.⁷⁶ The *feitor*, Alvaro Fernandes, states in his letter that Mamale received an annual tribute of ten thousand *pardaos* from the Sultan, payable in coir, amber and gold and silver coins. Some said he had actually demanded twenty thousand and that Kalu Muḥammad, who was unable to pay more than ten or twelve, had let him have all the assets of 'Candaluz' and 'Camdical'⁷⁷ and a share in the income from Tilladumati which before long he claimed in its entirety by overruling the Sultan's tax collectors.⁷⁸ He supplied the islanders with rice, sorghum, oil and cotton, but demanded in exchange a yearly supply of two to three thousand *bahars* of rice on which he trebled his profits during the monsoon. He exploited Addu, Huvadu and the neighbouring islands,⁷⁹ and everywhere his agents tyrannized the weak and timid whose only defence was flight.⁸⁰ The Sultan himself was unable to make profit from anything. He was supervised by two of Mamale's advisers who checked his every movement and had the palace searched every time they suspected him of concealing valuable goods.⁸¹ Mamale had married the king to a sultaness of princely descent, the heiress to a large treasure of amber and gold on which he probably hoped some day to lay his hands. But this princess—who may have been Ālī's sister, the Buraki Rani of the legend⁸²—soon imposed her authority. Mamale only recognized Kalu Muḥammad as sultan because he was her spouse. For her part, she succeeded in making the governor of Cannanore's brother her favourite, her aim being to gain a better all-round control.⁸³

It is not known what event—or disagreement—suddenly reversed this situation, prompting the abrupt departure of Mamale and his people.⁸⁴ The presence of the Portuguese *feitoria* was probably the pretext for it, although it was not the cause as it is difficult to imagine that a few huts and three ships could drive the 'Regedor do mar' from the Maldives. Bābā Ābdullah's letter begging D. Manuel to send reinforcements to prevent Mamale from exploiting the islands⁸⁵ proves that the existence of the *feitoria* was of little hindrance to the latter. And yet Bābā Ābdullah also confirmed that Kalu Muḥammad preferred the yoke of Portugal to that of Cannanore. This could have provoked an internal crisis although it may not necessarily have set Mamale's supporters against the Portuguese partisans. The Sultans were quick to take advantage of both sides. Alvaro Fernandes observed that, while Mamale was

taking refuge, the Sultana had taken the opportunity of seizing some of his possessions in Addu and Huvadu.⁸⁶ Did this mean that he had abandoned all his island interests? When, in 1520, Alvaro Fernandes made inquiries about his income and past activities, the very mention of his name still filled the islanders with terror and reduced them to silence. They refused to believe that the archipelago was free of his control. Even the dignitaries concealed the truth and provided contradictory information with a certain amount of reserve. They were reluctant to trust the Portuguese agents as long as they could not see being built the fortifications of a citadel which would discourage Mamale from attempting to return. Being a weak character, Kalu Muḥammad shirked all obligations. D. Manuel had a letter transmitted to him which was read to him by Alvaro Fernandes and in which the king asked him to give a precise account of the tribute and duties he had hitherto paid to Mamale. Kalu Muḥammad delayed replying for several days before remitting to the *feitor* a false and small account which barely exceeded one hundred *cruzados* of income. Alvaro Fernandes only found out the true value of the tribute—ten to twenty thousand *pardaos* per year—by piecing together the remarks of various traders and in particular those of a certain Lian Kalu whom he had lured to Cannanore. Lian Kalu took advantage of this opportunity to plead with the Governor for the cause of one of Ali's brothers who was making a bid for the crown and whom Kalu Muḥammad was holding prisoner. He delivered a message from the claimant who proposed to give the king of Portugal all the income previously enjoyed by Mamale provided he was made Sultan and given an income. Lian Kalu was more reticent when it came to the question of Portuguese interests. He confirmed that all the amber was controlled by the Sultana and sold to the ships from Cambay. But when Alvaro Fernandes, who had been unable to obtain anything locally—even by offering payments of gold and silver—asked him to procure some, Lian Kalu adopted such a vacant expression that his interlocutors gave up hope of obtaining anything at all.⁸⁷

Diogo Lopes de Sequeira had no particular desire to involve himself in the dynastic quarrels of the islands; he was more concerned with how he could benefit from them. This was also the purpose of the enquiry which D. Manuel commissioned Alvaro Fernandes to carry out. An inventory was to be compiled of all the

riches exploited by Mamale with a view to replacing him. Alvaro Fernandes was successful in locating the principal resources, but he was constantly faced with the difficult task of laying his hands on them. Male was no longer the centre of commercial activity; this role had been taken over by the southern atolls of Addu and Huvadū where Mamale had established his hide-out. It was here that all the Islamic traders would meet,⁸⁸ probably because there was 'no country in India where foreigners can get rich so quickly by virtue of very good trade and very cheap merchandise',⁸⁹ but more especially because business could be conducted away from Portuguese control. The Bengali ships were free to carry on their traditional trade—exchanging sugar and rice for cowries—and in these waters met, more so than ever before, boats from Cambay which had made the archipelago markets a crossroads. They left Gujarat in March and carried to Sumatra and the ports of Sunda groups of Arab and Persian merchants who could no longer go to Malabar, and returned via the west coast of Sumatra reaching the Maldives in four or five days.⁹⁰ Here they had to spend the rainy season with their cargoes of cloves, rice, silk and gold, part of which they traded with the islanders or the merchants from Malabar who had come to sell pepper.⁹¹ When the sea was calm once more they loaded their ships with coir, oyster shells and the cotton and silk woven tunics and fabrics for which they had provided the raw materials. Some groups returned to Cambay, others escorted the Red Sea merchants to Aden while others set off for Indonesia with cargoes of dried fish and slaves from the islands.⁹²

The size of this trade had not escaped the attention of Alvaro Fernandes who asked D. Manuel for the means with which to control it. The Cambay ships usually obtained their safe conducts from Goa or Malacca—they did not neglect their Portuguese customers—but these documents also covered many other parallel trades which were difficult to detect among the scattered islands. Most of the ships which sailed in the archipelago escaped the derisory forces of the *feitoria*. By the time they were spotted and tracked down they had already extricated from the islanders all their produce. Alvaro Fernandes suggested to the Goa authorities that safe conducts for the Maldives should only be given to those who undertook to go to a specific port where they were expected by the Portuguese agents.⁹³ Furthermore, the latter should have a flotilla capable of covering seventy leagues and collecting the

merchandise before the Gujaratis arrived. A fortress should be built at Tilladumati to drive out the Malabars, a *feitoria* set up in Male and several *feitores* and scribes installed in the southern atolls to carry out the same duties as those who had previously worked for Mamale.⁹⁴ In this way the Portuguese agents could welcome ships from Cambay, Coromandel and Malabar which had been approved by their Governor, collect duties and exchange coir, dried fish and cowries, the price of which increased during the monsoon,⁹⁵ for cotton, oil and rice, which the Portuguese were unable to stock in sufficient quantity for the entire population of the archipelago.⁹⁶

Alvaro Fernandes' plans were a far cry from the disappointing reality of his routine duties. 'The coir which we took great pains to collect did not even arrive in Malabar'. Of the three *gundras* loaded with three hundred *bahars* of coir, two had been seized by local *catur*s.⁹⁷ He only had three men to escort the convoys whereas, ideally, he should have had that number, a *berco* and several arquebuses on each of his ships. It was useless using as an excuse the enormous area he had to control and the need to employ twenty men in places where other fortresses made do with four. Goa refused him the help he so desperately needed. He was now afraid to send a *gundra* which was ready with its load of two hundred *bahars* of goods. His problem was simply that he lacked men; the ships built locally were inexpensive and the *feitoria* had enough coir to supply all the fortresses.⁹⁸

João Gomes' behaviour worsened these difficulties. As early as 1519 Alvaro Fernandes had requested that he be replaced, but to no avail. His request had in fact been ignored and he had had to resign himself to the irascible mood of his captain.⁹⁹ Having spent more than ten years in India, during which time he had become renowned for the part he had played in the siege of Cannanore and the battles of Goa and the Red Sea, João Gomes had gone back to Lisbon only to return immediately to take up his post as captain of one of the Maldives fortresses.¹⁰⁰ But, instead of taking up what should have been a promotion, he found himself in charge of a hamlet of straw huts and felt so bitter that he decided to find ways of compensating himself for his ill fate. He behaved like a pirate leader and pillaged all the ships which dared to sail in the vicinity.¹⁰¹ Even his companions were not spared: he kicked one of them to death and others either fled or threw themselves into the sea in

despair. Out of twenty men, fourteen remained most of whom had been put in prison. Among them was the chaplain and one of the *feitoria* scribes, who had boasted of sharing with his captain the favours of the same woman. As there were not enough prisons to satisfy his malicious intentions, João Gomes built more.¹⁰² In Cochin no one even knew who the scribes were any longer; it was even doubted whether they were the servants of the king of Portugal. João Gomes came and went between Cochin and Male to avoid the unhealthy climate of the islands.¹⁰³ It enraged him that he could get nothing out of these atolls where riches and men evaded all attempts of expropriation.

The crisis broke out in 1521. The exact date is not easy to determine, but it was sometime between Alvaro Fernandes' disclosure to D. Manuel of the problems of the *feitoria* (30 December 1520)¹⁰⁴ and Francisco de Mendonça's decision to stay in India after it had been attacked (December 1521).¹⁰⁵ It is probable that this act of aggression was an episode in the war which caused the Cambay¹⁰⁶ kingdom to turn against the *Estado da Índia* during the same year and which began off Diu in February. For although Correia attributes the siege of the Maldives *feitoria* to the Malabar seamen,¹⁰⁷ Góis and Castanheda ascribe it to the Gujaratis¹⁰⁸ and Barros to the malice of a captain called 'Gromale'.¹⁰⁹ Simão Sodré's account leaves no doubt at all about the fact that the assault was undertaken by crews from Cambay¹¹⁰ who made a dawn attack on the ten or so men sleeping in the *feitoria*. They burned the caravel, seized a few light vessels which were moored in the cove and turned their cannons on the stronghold in which João Gomes had entrenched himself. He and some of his companions perished in the course of this final battle, the others having fled into the palm grove where they were slaughtered by the islanders. Kalu Muḥammad recovered their clothes and two large pieces of artillery which the Gujaratis had been unable to take away.¹¹¹

The destruction of the Maldives *feitoria* was part of a wider movement which for several months had caused most of the Indian Ocean countries to rise up against the Portuguese. Because they lacked men, the latter could no longer rule the land they had conquered. The Kollam fort, built in 1517, had been besieged during the monsoon of 1520,¹¹² and the 1521 monsoon was to facilitate the attack on the Ceylon citadel. Mamale of Cannanore had been waiting for two years for the right moment to persuade the king of

Kōttē to rid himself of the Portuguese garrison. He began by offering him financial assistance and then tried to negotiate with Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, offering him cinnamon and elephants in return for the abandonment of the fortress.¹¹³ The failure of these initiatives had not discouraged Mamale who tirelessly carried on annoying the Portuguese until they reacted with acts of violence and arbitrary decisions. When Vijayabāhu, exasperated by D. Manuel's claims, which were depriving him of the profits enjoyed from his monopolies,¹¹⁴ resolved to put an end to his dealings with the citadel, Mamale was prepared to support him. For the five months' duration of the fortress siege, he supplied the royal army with saltpetre and artillery.¹¹⁵ But the men at the garrison, though exhausted by poverty and decimated through desertions, refused to allow themselves to be annihilated and in August 1521 the princes of Ceylon had to yield to their tenacity.¹¹⁶

At that very moment war was raging once more along the Cambay coast,¹¹⁷ while in Malabar the battles between the kings of Cochin and Calicut, which had been going on for more than a year, were causing trouble.¹¹⁸ Goa remained threatened in spite of the conflict which had again broken out between Adil Khān and Vijayanagar.¹¹⁹ In October the Chinese authorities arrested the Portuguese in Canton;¹²⁰ at the end of the year Ormuz revolted.¹²¹

Were these actions fortuitous or planned? The complicities which brought them about are not easy to understand. It is certain that the Asian emissaries and ambassadors tried to exploit the discontent and stir up mistrust,¹²² but it seems that the initiatives were not conceived or co-ordinated by any one leader. The part played by Mamale in the Ceylon revolt is clearly understood, but was he in collusion with the instigators of the other uprisings? As there are no records on this subject, the question must remain unanswered. The last reference in the Portuguese archives to Mamale's activities is in January 1522.¹²³

Whatever the reason for Mamale's disappearance, it did not dishearten the Muslim community of which he remained leader. After 1523, however, another name emerges—that of Balia Hacem—one of the leaders of the maritime war who was soon organizing action against the Portuguese fleets. D. Duarte de Meneses, who had relieved Diogo Lopes de Sequeira in 1521,

concentrated uniquely on re-establishing order in Ormuz and preparing another Red Sea expedition. These ventures, which mobilized the Portuguese forces to the north-west of the Indian Ocean, left all their positions elsewhere undefended, a situation which was made even worse by the fact that they had had to withdraw from the Kerala coast in order to lend support to the ever threatened bases in Indonesia.

Because of the need to establish peace in Malabar, D. Duarte had to show as much tolerance towards his own subjects as towards the local powers. In order to reconcile the interests of both sides he had allowed them to conduct private business between themselves. This had not been a wise move and the young people living at the fortresses were soon engaging in acts of robbery rather than the subtle bargaining of eastern trade. They stopped merchant ships and demanded heavy ransoms before they would allow them to proceed.¹²⁴ Even the Portuguese traders did not escape and no longer dared to take the Cambay route for fear of being attacked.¹²⁵ After 1523 the Māppīḷa communities struck back by organizing a coalition which saw the simultaneous rising up of leaders in all the Kerala ports. They were nearly all from powerful merchant families and owned their own fleets.¹²⁶ Some had been Portuguese allies, like Kutti Ali of Tanor who lived in a house filled with European furniture, distributed wine to his men and had once been a friend of António de Brito;¹²⁷ or like Pate Marakkar of Cochin who had collaborated for more than ten years with the *feitores* João Froles and Lourenço Moreno.¹²⁸ Others surfaced in Porakkad, Ponnāni and Pantalāyini Kollam. Those from the kingdom of Eli, from Māṭāyi, Irukkuṛ and Dharmapaṭam were grouped under the command of Balia Hacem of Cannanore.¹²⁹ Their *paraos*, similar to the Portuguese brigantines, were manned by twenty to thirty oarsmen on each side; they were well supplied with artillery and had enough arquebusiers and archers on board to undertake successful combat.¹³⁰ The objectives of these fleets were threefold: to protect the smuggling of pepper which was loaded in the Calicut ports and then transported to Aden or Cambay;¹³¹ to guarantee the revictualling of the ports from Bhaṭṭakal and Mangalore;¹³² to harry the *armadas*. This last point worried António da Fonseca, who asked D. João III not to underestimate the danger it posed. Nothing escaped the *catur*s and *paraos* which were light and speedy and could 'be in Cochin at

dawn, Calicut by mid-day and in Porakkad at dawn the following day'; their captains would flout the Portuguese by firing salvos under the walls of their fortresses¹³³ and pursue their ships into the waters of Cochin.¹³⁴

After October 1523 these activities took on alarming proportions. Encouraged by the fact that that year's armada had not yet reached their coast, the Malabar seamen increased their raids and even pursued ships with Portuguese safe conducts.¹³⁵ Following the recent death of Nambiadari, a Zamorin who supported them and intended to restore the kingdom's former prosperity was now on the Calicut throne.¹³⁶ The town was no longer a safe place and D. Pedro de Castro was openly attacked while wandering through the Muslim quarter.¹³⁷ Eight vessels and forty *paraos* had set off for Mecca without being troubled, whereas other ships were ambushed in the Chaliyam River.¹³⁸ While the Governor was wintering in Ormuz and the king of Banda was threatening to besiege Malacca, the Malabar seamen began to beleaguer the Calicut citadel, stopping all its supplies. Repeated riots took place right through 1524 and several attacks were made on D. João de Lima, the fortress captain.¹³⁹

Although Balia Hacem was involved in most of these operations, he did not neglect the islands.¹⁴⁰ His Cannanore relations did not remain inactive. They coerced the Kōḷaṭhīri into granting them permission to besiege the fortress and offered the shelter of their harbour to Calicut *paraos*. It was at Cannanore that Kutti Ali of Kappatt's fleet, hunted by Jeronimo de Sousa, took refuge.¹⁴¹

Having been informed of the perils which were threatening the *Estado da India* from all sides, D. João III instructed Vasco da Gama to take on the governorship. The latter would probably have re-established order by using his customary harsh measures had illness and death not suddenly attacked him in Cochin on Christmas Eve 1524.¹⁴² His brief-stay in India was however to deprive the Malabar seamen of one of their leaders, by prompting the Kōḷaṭhīri to take an unexpected decision. Did he wish to quell the vindictive mood of the Almirante, the dangerous effects of which he was aware, or was he desirous to get rid of a hero whose prestige was casting a shadow over him? During Vasco da Gama's stay at the fortress, the Kōḷaṭhīri, 'using as a pretext a desire to please him, handed over to him a 'pirate' who was also one of his subjects. Was this Balia Hacem, as asserted by João de Barros? Or

was it one of Mamale's brothers, as claimed by Gaspar Correia?¹⁴³ Castanheda, who states that the person in question was Mamale himself, raises a hypothesis worth examining.¹⁴⁴ It is supported by an anonymous account taken from the *Coleção São Vicente* and written in the first half of the sixteenth century, which does not disclose the name of the captive but describes him as 'the uncle of Balia Hacen, the principal *paraio* builder and the person responsible for all the harm inflicted on our people all along the coast of India as well as in the Maldivé Islands... who was a very important (person), extremely rich...'.¹⁴⁵ Although it is tempting to recognize the Regent of the Sea from such a description, there is cause for doubt and Castanheda's version cannot be accepted without some degree of hesitation. The content of a letter from Poca Amame, who introduced himself to D. João III in January 1528 as the brother and successor of 'seu servydor Mamale que mandou toda esta tera de Cananor'¹⁴⁶ does not seem to be compatible with the ignominious fate inflicted on the prisoner. All that can be ascertained is that the captive was related to Balia Hacen and that they were both members of the *regedor's* family or immediate entourage. Despite the differences of detail, all the chroniclers agree that large sums were collected by the dignitaries to pay a ransom which was not accepted.¹⁴⁷

The mysterious prisoner remained in the fortress dungeon for some months. He was not forgotten however, and one of the first things D. Henrique de Meneses—Vasco da Gama's successor—did was to order his execution as he had no desire to wait for the Kōḷaṭhiri, who was thinking over the consequences of his action, to ask him for the pardon he had no intention of granting. The council, called by D. Henrique soon after his return to Cannanore, condemned the 'pirate' to death. The latter was hanged the same day, his hands cut off and his corpse displayed on the battlements of the citadel.¹⁴⁸

The situation was embarrassing for the Kōḷaṭhiri who had lost face by allowing the Portuguese authorities to take away his right of justice. Riots broke out in the Muslim quarter.¹⁴⁹ Several Māppiḷa families, not daring to trust their king's protection, exiled themselves to Dharmapaṭam after setting fire to their homes.¹⁵⁰ The whole coast was affected and no one was in any doubt that the Kōḷaṭhiri was responsible, and he himself could not deny it. He had probably realized how powerful his own Muslim subjects had

become as a result of the troubles and had calculated the extent of the political and military role which they were threatening assume in his place. This would seem to be the only justification for the action he took in asking the Governor to destroy their dwelling place, a task which was entrusted to Heitor da Silveira who burned the town, the *samboucos* and *almadias* anchored in the port and three fishing villages up river.¹⁵¹ By way of reward, the instigator of this raid was given the command of the Cannanore fortress and Simão de Meneses was appointed *capitão-mor do mar*.¹⁵²

The Kōḷaṭhiri was to hold fast to this posture. To the Portuguese this meant that Cannanore was neutral during the siege on the Calicut citadel which began after the onset of the 1525 monsoon but which had to be abandoned by D. João de Lima at the end of the same year.¹⁵³ This outcome, the first defeat suffered by the Portuguese in Malabar, did not affect Cannanore where nobody tried to take advantage of the confusion by attacking the fortress. But the exodus of the Muslim chiefs, while leaving Cannanore in peace, meant their emergence elsewhere; they were to be found organizing the pepper trade and supplying Calicut with rice from Mangalore and Bārākūr.¹⁵⁴ The Vijayanagar governors turned a blind eye to this activity in spite of protests from the Portuguese. For their part, the coastal cities of the Eli kingdom colluded with the Muslim forces. D. Simão de Meneses and Fernão Gomes de Lemos had spotted seventy *paraos* in the waters off Mangalore and followed them to the harbour of Māṭāyi where these vessels took shelter. The pursuing ships slipped into the sandy channels of the estuary where Gomes Martins de Lemos and D. Miguel de Lima were caught in the ambush and riddled with arrows before their companions could come to their assistance. Māṭāyi escaped their reprisals as the water was too shallow for Domingo Fernandes's brigantine. The failure of this punitive expedition was redressed by the Kōḷaṭhiri who put to death some Muslims and Nāyars in order to assuage the Portuguese.¹⁵⁵ He took advantage of his good relations with D. Henrique de Meneses to try and persuade him to surrender the Maldives which were still officially under the control of Goa. In fact, although they had not yet been able to construct the fortress for which Pero Lopes de Sampaio had received instructions in 1520¹⁵⁶, the Portuguese were trying to maintain a *feitor* and a small staff on the islands. News of their precarious situation was brought by Simão Sodre who was sent to the archipelago at the

end of 1524 to protect their interests. All they had was a handful of men and a straw hut. The Gujaratis had killed João Gomes' successor—a certain Jorge Mesurado—and were preparing to do the same to Sancho Figueras who was saved by the intervention of Simão Sodré.¹⁵⁷ The Kōḷaṭhiri was aware of the difficulties which the people of Malabar and Gujarat were causing to the *feitor*, and the hardship that the latter had to endure to receive only an average quantity of coir. In March 1525 the sovereign went in person to the fortress to meet D. Henrique. He told him of a letter he had received from the king of Portugal in which he made him a gift of the Maldives on condition that he undertook to deliver a certain quantity of coir, to be fixed by the Governor. The latter requested a thousand *bahars* per year which the Kōḷaṭhiri declared he could not provide. The matter rested there because D. Henrique, probably satisfied with the result of Simão Sodré's recent mission, believed he was able to obtain as much through his own endeavours.¹⁵⁸

It is not known how the internal situation of the islands developed. After Simão Sodré, Jorge Cabral, then Martim Afonso de Melo Jusarte, were sent there in 1525 for the purpose of privateering.¹⁵⁹ Both men confirmed the density of the maritime trade which was concentrated in the Karaidu Channel.¹⁶⁰ Repeating the wishes of António Real¹⁶¹ and Alvaro Fernandes,¹⁶² Simão Sodré expressed a hope that the exploitation of the archipelagoes would be neglected no longer and that a stone fortress would be built to control the commercial activities.¹⁶³

Jorge Cabral had occasion to meet a Maldives sultan, but does not reveal his identity. If the *Ta'rīḥ* of Male is to be believed, the person in question was Kalu Muḥammad who reigned on his own until H. 935/1529, protected by the Muslim chief of Cannanore to whom he went on paying tribute. According to this same source, Buraki Rani was repudiated and exiled to Tilladumati and it was Šīrāzī Fāṭumā Kamamā who gave the Sultan a successor.¹⁶⁴

There is one point which requires clarification. João de Barros wrote that certain islands which he locates at 12° 1/2 latitude north of the Equator, the approximate position of the Laccadives—bore the name 'Islands of Mamale' and were governed by the person of the same name.¹⁶⁵ Duarte Barbosa, who was writing around 1515, says only that the islanders considered the king of Cannanore to be their sovereign.¹⁶⁶ It is certain that the islands known as the

Laccadives were attached to the Eli kingdom from a very early date—the *Mūṣakavaṃsa* bears this out¹⁶⁷—but there is no record of the conditions to which they were subjected. Whatever the situation, these islands of Mamale which João de Barros speaks of appear on ancient maps, including, in particular, the map drawn up by João de Lisboa (c. 1560).¹⁶⁸ Reference will have to be made here to local traditions, according to which in about 1550 the Kōḷaṭhiri gave the Muslim chief of Cannanore the title of Aḷi Rāja and control of the Laccadives in exchange for a fixed tribute.¹⁶⁹

The fact that these islands belonged to the Aḷi Rājas is confirmed by Zaynuddin and Pyrard de Laval¹⁷⁰ although they do not explain why some of them bore the name of Mamale. As the dates provided by the local traditions are often erroneous, it may be thought that the surrender of the Laccadives occurred during Mamale's lifetime, that is before 1528.

The year 1528 would not have been chosen as the date of this account had not the events made it a certainty. On the eve of Nuno da Cunha's long term of governorship (1529-38) the *Estado da Índia* was entering a new phase, while in the kingdom of Eli the main people responsible for its activity since the beginning of the century were dying. These losses are revealed by two unpublished letters: one will help review the situation in Cannanore, the other will serve as an introduction to the conclusion of this study.

The first letter was addressed to D. João III on 15 January 1527 by three scribes employed at the *feitoria*. It bears the signatures of Sebastian Rodrigues Maresim, the *feitor*, Duarte Barbosa, secretary, and a third signature which has been rendered illegible by a tear in the paper. This missive relates the activities at the fortress and the internal situation of the kingdom.¹⁷¹

An examination of the *feitor's* accounts reveals that when he took over from Francisco Dias in February 1526, he found the coffers empty, more than three hundred *cruzados* of debts and, as the only trading currency, a little impure coral which nobody wanted.¹⁷² These were the effects of the state of destitution in which the citadel had been left and which the chaplain Afonso Fernandes had denounced in 1523.¹⁷³ But the abandonment of Calicut was to give a certain degree of importance to Cannanore, particularly since it was now once more involved in the ginger

trade.¹⁷⁴ Sebastião Rodrigues received copper, lead, coral and a little currency from Goa.¹⁷⁵ A statement of his expenses makes it possible to distinguish how much copper and currency was involved in the payments (ginger, coir, wages), in the main both were used. The list of headings, the detail of which is clearly shown, gives an indication of the routine and special role of the citadel. The latter had not recovered its former trading activities and shared with Chaul¹⁷⁶ and Goa the task of supplying and repairing the fleets. Since the conquest of these two cities, Cannanore was now no more than a port of call. The gunpowder and rope factories, the cannon-ball foundry, and the naval repair yard were in regular operation to keep the passing crews and captains supplied. The brigantine oarsmen who kept watch on the shore were paid out of the fortress budget, the hospital dispensing treatment to the wounded they brought to it daily.¹⁷⁷

The list of repairs carried out on the citadel gives some idea as to its appearance. Major work was being undertaken. The surrounding wall, which was crumbling, was extended to take in the well which had been at the centre of the conflicts in 1507. The *feitoria's* warehouses, built with stones and dried mud, were rebuilt and cemented with limestone. New buildings were constructed to house the gunpowder factory and all the roofs were covered with *cadjans*. Many tradesmen were employed at the fortress: masons, rope-makers, gunpowder manufacturers and saltpetre refiners, blacksmiths and ships carpenters, as well as messengers and innumerable labourers. These workmen, who were paid on a daily basis, were mainly from Malabar—there were only two Portuguese blacksmiths for example.¹⁷⁸

Two hundred soldiers defended the fortress and it was hoped that the number could be reduced to one hundred and fifty once the fortifications were complete.¹⁷⁹ Among them there were about thirty *casados*, some of whom had married the first generation of Indo-Portuguese daughters in preference to Malabar women, even though the oldest of them could not have been much more than twelve years of age.¹⁸⁰ In addition to the regular garrison there was a contingent of Indians from the Christian community who were always available in the event of danger;¹⁸¹ a slightly earlier document assesses the number of these converts at seven hundred in 1523.¹⁸²

The Kōlathiri had just died,¹⁸³ almost at the same time as his

former minister, the 'alguazil velho'.¹⁸⁴ The new sovereign, who had seen the royal treasure pass into the possession of another prince, had to live on an annual income of five thousand *reis* and the taxes paid to him by the Portuguese authorities.¹⁸⁵ This dependence had not prevented him from banishing his predecessor's minister who was not opposed to the Portuguese. Those he appointed in his place had no control over the Muslims, who did as they pleased. The king's inexperience caused considerable damage to business¹⁸⁶ and the fall in the value of the *fanam* made matters worse.¹⁸⁷

The death of Mamale must have occurred some months after that of the Kōḷaṭhiri, probably at the end of 1527. Poca Amame, his brother and successor, informed D. João III of this on 14 January 1528.¹⁸⁸

Mamale's final years are still cloaked in mystery: six years about which nothing is known, not even the position he adopted after the crisis of 1525 and the exodus of his co-religionists. But the announcement of his death is evidence that he remained the leader of the Muslim community and governor of the town.¹⁸⁹

Further evidence emerges upon reading Poca Amame's letter which at first sight only contains the customary declarations of loyalty towards D. João. It reveals in fact that the office of *regedor* was hereditary, in keeping with the *marumakkatāyam* system. This was not the result of chance since the same order of succession comes up again seventeen years later after the death of Pocaralle, *regedor* of Cannanore, assassinated in 1545 by Belchior de Sousa, and succeeded by his nephew, the famous Aḷi Rāja.¹⁹⁰ The latter was to give his name to the dynasty of Muslim sovereigns of Cannanore who were to reign until the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁹¹

There is perhaps one missing link in the chain—the identity of the *regedor* who may have reigned between Poca Amame and Pocaralle, although G. Schurhammer, finding no trace, suggests that they are one and the same person, referred to by Zaynuddin as Abū Bakr.¹⁹² This gap, if it exists, does not raise any doubt as to the family connection linking Mamale to the Aḷi Rājas. This is confirmed by a letter from the *feitor*, Sebastião Rodrigues Maresim, written some days after Poca Amame's giving Mamale's brother and successor the title of *Anderajão*.¹⁹³ According to the family tree drawn up by William Logan from local traditions, Valiya

Mammāli—'Mamale the Great', who reigned over the Maldives, was the predecessor of 'Pokrali Koya' who was assassinated by the Portuguese.¹⁹⁴ This person is identifiable as Pocaralle, whom Diogo do Couto calls 'Pocarrale Aderrajão'.¹⁹⁵ The Portuguese sources, which had taken Pocaralle from the legend, also give Mamale an historic reality; they make it possible to trace the Aḷi Rāja line back to the early sixteenth century.

It is rare for an outstanding personality to die without leaving a legacy of his ambitions. Those of Mamale were to find new life in Pocaralle and especially in his nephew the Aḷi Rāja. In 1559 the latter led a coalition against the Portuguese during which his authority became so strong that the Kōḷaṭhiri was reduced to the status of puppet. In 1564 the king was transferred to Kasaragod in the far north of the country.¹⁹⁶ By the end of the century he had surrendered Cannanore to the all-consuming power of the Aḷi Rāja. It seems appropriate at this point to let François Pyrard sum up the political situation in the aftermath of this usurpation:

The king of Cananor is a Malabar,¹⁹⁷ and one of the kings of Malabar; in his territory the Malabars are not subject to the Nairs, although there is a Nair king in the Cananor country. The latter, however, has no authority nowadays, and the Malabars of the whole coast, both merchants and corsairs, respect and honour the king. The people of the county have told me that it is not long since the Malabars of Cananor were in like condition with the rest of their race, and obeyed that Nair king, but that they became so strong that they made a king for themselves, and no longer recognized the Nair king nor paid him any tribute: he resides far in the interior, and is often at war with the king of Cananor. This king of Cananor is very rich and powerful, for he has plenty of men subject to him, besides the other Malabars of the whole coast, whom he calls upon in time of need. He is called Aly Ragea and he is a Mahometan, like the other Malabars. He is powerful on the sea, has a large number of ships, trades all over India, and for this purpose has a number of factors at different places. The islands of Divandurou belong to him, and the Maldives are at present held by him. He is very courteous, humane and affable and, more than any of the other kings, is fond of the society of foreigners. The Portuguese are at peace with him, and by his permission hold a small fort in Cananor, containing a church and a Jesuits' college. Nevertheless, the other Indian kings call not this king of Cananor a king, saying that he is not so of right, but only by force.¹⁹⁸

However, this restriction was not to prevent the Aḷi Rājas from keeping what they had acquired. They promoted a social group from one of the lowest castes to the highest civil offices because of its adherence and allegiance to Islam. This was quite a different promotion than that of the Deccan Sultans and Delhi Moghuls

because it had not been imposed by force but by the patient ambition of an active minority. This rise, which was accomplished over centuries, did not change the impenetrable hierarchy of the Hindu society; it superseded it by acting freely in an area of which the high castes were suspicious, in other words the high seas.

The Portuguese alone knew the limits of this area which they disputed with the Cannanore Māppiḷas. Although they were not always able to unravel the subtle tactics of their adversaries' policy, they understood clearly how they worked and showed how the Muslim chief was able to impose his will on the Hindu sovereign. A close inspection of their testimonies covering the first three decades of the sixteenth century reveals the rights and concessions gained by Mamale and those already in his possession. His personality dominated this whole period.

It can thus be established that the Islamic *regedor*—even though he did not yet bear the title of Aḷi Rāja—was the sole ruler of the high seas. He collected the maritime trading profits and fixed the price of the spices, setting aside the Kōḷaṭhiri's share. He had his own merchant fleet and *paraos* to defend it. He was able to create for himself an overseas empire, invested on him by the Kōḷaṭhiri. In addition, the latter authorized him—the siege on the Portuguese fortress bears this out—to extend the war to the land and to accept assistance from the Nāyars when the cause of the conflict affected the defence of the kingdom's maritime interests. These same interests brought him into direct negotiations with the neighbouring sovereigns—the Zamorin of Calicut, the Sabayo of Goa and the King of Kōṭṭē, and even, where appropriate, the Portuguese authorities. He had succeeded in making himself governor of Cannanore by replacing the Nātuvāri, the royal governor, and by making sure that the office was made hereditary. It is not known what powers Mamale's predecessors enjoyed, but it seems that the career of the latter marked the positive transition of his role from a commercial to a political one.

The authority of the Cannanore Māppiḷas was to go from strength to strength during the sixteenth century, ultimately bringing about the break-up of the Eli kingdom and the rise to power of the only Muslim dynasty to have ruled in Kerala. By remembering Mamale of Cannanore, the Portuguese testimonies have not only made a contribution to the history of his social group and his line, they have also placed on record the principal

structures of a kingdom where, at that time, there existed an original kind of association between the Hindu kings and the Muslim sea merchants. By disclosing the activities of the Regent of the Sea they have shed light on a trade which had hitherto only been suspected by the historians, that was the trade which was being operated from the Maldivian islands and which went on supplying the Islamic world in spite of the *conquista*. In addition, they have virtually provided a day by day account of the first years of a Portuguese factory and the first political experience of the Europeans in India.

Notes and References

¹ Barros, III/1-1, p. 11; Castanheda, III/52, pp. 363-4.

² Silvestre de Bachom to D. Manuel, Cochim, 4 Jan. 1516, CA, IV, p. 24; Castanheda, IV/3, p. 385.

³ According to Barros, Lopo Soares had arrived in Goa on 8 Sept. (III/1-1, p. 13), according to Castanheda on 2 (III/152, p. 364).

⁴ Castanheda, III/152, p. 364).

⁵ Barros, III/1-1, p. 13; Castanheda, III/1-52, p. 364; Góis, III/77, p. 279.

⁶ Eitor Rodrigues to D. Manuel, Cochim, 5 Jan. 1517, TdT, CC I-21-65, f. 1 a. This letter was written as Eitor Rodrigues, Cannanore *feitor* in 1516, was on his way to Kollam, having been replaced by Diogo Rodrigues Botelho.

⁷ Mandado, Cannanore, 20 May 1518, TdT, CC II-75-63. This document has been chosen as an example. The Torre do Tombo houses other salary registers from which a comparative study can be made. For this particular period they show very little variation, cf. in particular mandados, Cannanore, 15 July 1518, 23 Sept. 1518, 26 April 1519, 23 May 1519, 21 June 1519, 18 Aug. 1519, TdT CC II-76-67, 77-102, 81-89, 82-15, 82-108, 84-48, etc.

⁸ Jorge de Melo to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 28 Dec. 1514, CA, IV, p. 16; Afonso Velho to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 20 Dec. 1514 in Silva Rego, *Documentação para a História das missões, Índia I*, doc. 111.

⁹ Pires, vol. 2, p. 362.

¹⁰ Afonso Velho to D. Manuel, loc. cit.

¹¹ This information is based on a document written several months earlier, according to which the Christian community of Cannanore included 344 indigenous Christians, i.e.: 160 Tiyans and Mukkuvans (74 men and 86 women), 85 of Muslim origin (37 men and 48 women), 7 Nayars (4 men and 3 women). Of the children (this probably meant those under 12, the age at which girls usually got married and at which the children entered active life, as will be seen later, *vide infra*, p. 178), 13 were of Muslim origin, 9 were formerly Hindu and 33 were the children of converts, 13 from Portuguese marriages and 24 illegitimate (P. D. Alonso to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 27 Dec. 1514, in Silva Rego, op. cit., doc. 113).

¹² Exactly nineteen families in May 1518, mandado, Cannanore, TdT, CC II-75-63, f. 2 a.

¹³ Ibid., f. 1 a.

¹⁴ A. da Silva Rego, *História das missões do padroado português do Oriente, Índia*, I (1500–42), Lisbon, 1949, pp. 333–4.

¹⁵ Those responsible had been complaining for several years about the extreme youth of the effectives. Julião Nunes to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 14 Oct. 1510, CA, III, p. 311; Manuel Sodré to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 27 Dec. 1515, CA, IV, p. 23; Pedro de Bastroni Corço to D. Manuel, Cochin, 10 Nov. 1518, *As Gavetas*, IV, p. 388.

¹⁶ 'Small rats', D. João de Lima to D. Manuel, Cochin, 22 Dec. 1518, TdT, CC I-23–117, f. 4 a.

¹⁷ Pires, vol. 2, p. 358.

¹⁸ This is the title given to him by Gaspar Correia (II/2, p. 861, III/1, p. 16), who also refers to him as 'regedor do mar de Cananor' (II/1, p. 391). Poca Amame, Mamale's brother, announced that he had taken over from him the office of 'regedor de este Cananor' (Poca Amame to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 14 Jan. 1528, TdT, CC I-38–84). The same was used to describe the Nātuvāri of Cannanore in 1506 (Gaspar Pereira to D. Manuel, Cochin, 11 Jan. 1506, CA, II, p. 360).

¹⁹ Pires, vol. 2, p. 269.

²⁰ Barros, III/1–7, p. 41; Alvaro Fernandes stressed their importance: 'São as ilhas tamanha coussa... que se nam pode mamter todo Cambaye, nem todo Çamatra, Bengalla e Charammamdell e o Malabar sem ellas e as mercadarias dellas são tam necessarias pera todas estas partes que sem ellas se nam podem soster...'. (Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Dec. 1520, *Alg. Doc.*, p. 351. This letter is also published in *As Gavetas*, IV, pp. 123–9).

²¹ Barros, III/1–7, p. 41; Correia, II/2, p. 508; Góis, IV/16, p. 44; António de Miranda de Azevedo to D. Manuel, (Colombo), 8 Nov. 1519, *As Gavetas*, IV, p. 141.

²² Pires, vol. 2, p. 269.

²³ G. Bouchon, *Les rois de Kōttē au début de XVIe siècle*, in *MLI*, vol. 1 (1971), pp. 65–96.

²⁴ Bābā ʿAbdullah to D. Manuel, s.l.n.d., TdT, *Cartas orientais* n° 9, published and translated by J. Aubin in *MLI*, vol. 2 (1973), pp. 201–11 (f. 3 a).

²⁵ Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Dec. 1520, *Alg. Doc.*, p. 449.

²⁶ Castanheda, IV/35, pp. 437–8. This Sultan of 'Candaluz' had engaged in war against Mamale (ibid., III/120, p. 292).

²⁷ Alvaro Fernandes, loc. cit., pp. 448–53.

²⁸ 'Este Cambaia tem agora todo o trato da Meca...'. (D. Aires da Gama to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 2 Jan. 1519, *As Gavetas*, IV, p. 217).

²⁹ *Vide supra*, chap. V, p. 120.

³⁰ Barros, III/1–7, p. 41; Castanheda, IV/10, p. 394; Góis, IV/16, p. 44; Correia II/2, p. 508. In a letter to Giuliano de' Medici, written from Cochin on 6 Jan. 1516, Andrea Corsali points out that in the event that the armada did not reach Mecca it was to return to the Maldives and pillage all those ships without safe-conducts. This plan was not put into operation (Ramusio, I, f. 199 a).

³¹ Góis, IV/27, p. 69.

³² Barros, III/2–4, p. 72; Castanheda, IV/32, pp. 433, 435, 438; Góis, IV/27, p. 69.

³³ According to Barros, these two ships were from Bengal and were heading for Cambay (III/2-3, p. 67); according to D. de Góis, they were from Gujarat (IV/27, p. 69).

³⁴ Barros, III/2, pp. 67-8.

³⁵ Castanheda, IV/35, p. 438.

³⁶ Ibid.; Barros, III/2-3, pp. 67-8. According to Góis, he was authorized to build a fortress (IV/27, p. 69).

³⁷ Bābā ʿAbdullah to D. Manuel, loc. cit., f. 2 b.

³⁸ Ibid., f. 3 a.

³⁹ Conhecimento, 'Goa, 26 March 1519, TdT, CC II-80-97: '20 quintais 1 aroba e 24 arrateis de cairo por Mamale, mercador de Cananor'; another conhecimento testifies that Mamale supplied coconut oil to Goa (20 Oct. 1518, TdT, CC II-78-16). Other provide evidence of coir deliveries but do not mention the name of the supplier.

⁴⁰ Pedro de Bastroni Corço to D. Manuel, Cochin, 10 June 1518, *As Gavetas*, IV, p. 387.

⁴¹ D. Aires da Gama to D. Manuel, Cochin, 2 Jan. 1519, *As Gavetas*, IV, p. 214.

⁴² Ibid. A letter from the chaplain specifies that these alms amounted to 18 sacks per month and per person, divided into twice five sacks and twice four sacks (Cannanore, (15.I/1519, TdT, Fragmentos, caixa 4, 1-13, f. 2 a.)

⁴³ The Kōlāthiri to António Carneiro, s.l., H. muh. 924/Jan.-Feb. 1518, TdT, *Cartas orientais* n° 51.

⁴⁴ The Kōlāthiri to Martim Afonso de Sousa, s.l.n.d., TdT, São Lourenço, III-30, f. 1 b.

⁴⁵ D. Aires da Gama to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 2 Jan. 1519, *As Gavetas*, IV, p. 217.

⁴⁶ Diogo Lopes de Sequeira to D. Manuel, Cochin, 23 Dec. 1518, TdT, CVR n° 12, f. 1 b.

⁴⁷ G. Bouchon, *Les rois de Kōttē au début du XVIe siècle*, in *MLI*, vol. 1 (1971), pp. 77-9.

⁴⁸ D. João da Silveira to D. Manuel, (Colombo), 27 Oct. 1519, TdT, CC I-25-68, of which there is a resume in *Alg. Doc.*, p. 436, doc. 2 hereafter; António de Miranda de Azevedo to D. Manuel, (Colombo), 8 Nov. 1519, *As Gavetas*, IV, pp. 140-4.

⁴⁹ Inquirição que tirou Lopo de Brito em Ceilão sobre as pareas e canela que nom vinha boa, s.l., 23 Jan. 1522, TdT, CC II-99-102, doc. 4 hereafter.

⁵⁰ D. João da Silveira to D. Manuel, loc. cit. f. 2 a.

⁵¹ António de Miranda de Azevedo to D. Manuel loc. cit., p. 142.

⁵² Ibid., p. 143; Cristóvão Lourenço Caracão to D. Manuel, Cochin, 13 Jan. 1522, in *MLI*, vol. 1 (1971), p. 166.

⁵³ G. Bouchon, *Les rois de Kōttē*, loc. cit., p. 78.

⁵⁴ By the beginning of November, D. João had only managed to collect 113 *bahars* and 3 *arrobas* of cinnamon (António de Miranda de Azevedo, loc. cit., p. 143).

⁵⁵ D. João da Silveira to D. Manuel, (Colombo), 27 Oct. 1519, f. 1 a; Inquirição, loc. cit., f. 2 b, 3 b, 4 b, 5 b, 6 a, 8 a, 9 b, 11 a.

⁵⁶ Inquirição, loc. cit., f. 11 a, 12 b.

⁵⁷ Both the men interrogated stated that they had never heard of these offers being accepted (Inquirição, loc. cit., 4 a, 5 a, 6 a, 7 b, 8 b, 14 a).

⁵⁸ Inquirição, loc. cit., f. 12 b.

⁵⁹ Ibid., f. 10 b, 12 a. António de Lemos died before 10 February 1520, when Francisco Paes was feitor of Ceylon (mandado, Goa, TdT, CC II-87-24). This António de Lemos—erroneously called Diogo de Lemos by Gaspar Correia (II/2, p. 546)—should not be confused with the captain of the same name who went to assist the Ceylon fortress when it was besieged in 1521 (Cristóvão Lourenço Caracão to D. Manuel, Cochín, 12 Jan. 1522, in *MLI*, vol. 1 (1971), p. 165).

⁶⁰ D. João da Silveira to D. Manuel, (Colombo), 27 Oct. 1519, TdT, CC I-25-68, doc. 2 hereafter, f. 2 a.

⁶¹ Inquirição, loc. cit., f. 4 a, 5 a, 6 a, 7 b, 9 a, 13 a, 14 a.

⁶² Ibid., f. 3 a, 8 a, 9 b.

⁶³ D. João da Silveira to D. Manuel, loc. cit., f. 1 a.

⁶⁴ Ibid., f. 1 b.

⁶⁵ Id., ibid.; António de Miranda de Azevedo to D. Manuel, (Colombo), 8 Nov. 1519, *As Gavetas*, IV, p. 142.

⁶⁶ D. João da Silveira to D. Manuel, loc. cit., f. 1 a, 2 a. Is the person referred to here Alexandre de Ataide, the Jewish convert and Albuquerque's interpreter and confidant? According to António da Fonseca, he held certain secrets which were only to be disclosed to D. Manuel (A. De Fonseca to D. Manuel, Cochín, 10 Jan. 1521, in *Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Mocambique e na África central*, Lisbon, 1969, vol. 6, p. 52). On Alexandre de Ataide cf. J. Aubin, 'Francisco de Albuquerque, un juif castillan au service de l'Inde portugaise' (1510-1515), in *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, vol. 7 (1974), pp. 177-83.

⁶⁷ Mandado, Goa, 8 Dec. 1519, TdT, CC II-86-107 (one thousand *pardaos* of five *tangas* for the Ceylon feitor).

⁶⁸ Conhecimento, (Colombo), 15 Oct. 1519; recibo, Cannanore, 15 Sept. 1520, TdT, CC II-92-106, doc. 3 hereafter.

⁶⁹ Diogo Lopes de Sequeira to D. Manuel, Cochín, 23 Dec. 1518, TdT, CVR, n° 12, f. 2 a. João Gomes had in fact to set sail no later than this date, and an anonymous letter from Cochín dated 15 Jan. 1519 stated that he had left twenty-five days earlier. (TdT, CC I-24-16, f. 1 b). Cheira dinheiro is a nickname meaning 'who sniffs money'.

⁷⁰ Anonymous letter, Cochín, 15 Jan. 1519, loc. cit., f. 1 b-2 a. Cf. also Livro das merces que el-Rey fez no anno de 1520, TdT, Nu cleo Antigo 873, f. 99 a-b.

⁷¹ Diogo Lopes de Sequeira to D. Manuel, loc. cit., f. 2 a. This invalidates Correia's figures: one caravel, two *fustas* and one *catur* (II/2, p. 568).

⁷² Correia, II/2, p. 569).

⁷³ Anonymous letter from Cochín, 15 Jan. 1519, loc. cit., f. 2 a.

⁷⁴ João Gomes was unable to purchase a sufficient quantity (Anonymous letter from Cochín, loc. cit., f. 2 a). A conhecimento from Goa indicates that in that particular year the rice was paid for in gold *pardaos* (Goa, 10 Dec. 1518, TdT, CC II-78-137). Cf. also other documents from TdT, CC II-81.

⁷⁵ João Gomes' instructions specified that this operation could only be carried out once the fortress's share had been reserved (Anonymous letter, Cochín, 15 Jan. 1519, loc. cit., f. 2 a).

⁷⁶ Bābā ʿAbdullah to D. Manuel, loc. cit., f. 3 a.

⁷⁷ It has not been possible to identify 'Camdical' which was also known to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (vol. 4, p. 112) and which is shown on the ancient maps in place of the fourth atoll south of Maliku (among others on the maps of João de Lisboa, *Livro da Marinharia*, c. 1560, and Bartolomeu Velho's anonymous collection, c. 1560, in A. Cortesão, *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica*, Lisbon, 1960, vol. 1, p. 96 and vol. 2, p. 234).

⁷⁸ This 'Tijmo' which appears in Alvaro Fernandes' letter to D. Manuel (Cannanore, 30 Dec. 1520) in the *Alg. Doc.* editor's transcription, p. 449, was read as 'Termo' by the editor of *As Gavetas*, IV, p. 124. On ancient maps this atoll bears the name of 'Timor' or 'Tymo', the second atoll south of Maliku (Minicoy), that is in place of today's Tilladumati (cf. maps referred to in the preceding note).

⁷⁹ Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, loc. cit., *Alg. Doc.*, p. 452.

⁸⁰ Bābā ʿAbdullah to D. Manuel, loc. cit., f. 3 a-b.

⁸¹ Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, loc. cit., *Alg. Doc.*, p. 449.

⁸² Bell, *The Maldive Islands*, Colombo, 1940, p. 25.

⁸³ Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, loc. cit., *Alg. Doc.*, p. 450. This favourite was not Içapocar, but another of Mamale's brothers called 'Andargnāo' (ibid.).

⁸⁴ At the end of 1520 Alvaro Fernandes wrote that Mamale had been away from the islands for three years (loc. cit., *Alg. Doc.*, p. 450). For his part, Bābā ʿAbdullah affirmed that João Gomes and Mamale's agents were present on the islands at the same time (loc. cit., f. 3 a). Mamale's departure can therefore be timed at the earliest in the last week of 1518.

⁸⁵ Bābā ʿAbdullah to D. Manuel, loc. cit., f. 3 a-b.

⁸⁶ Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, loc. cit., *Alg. Doc.*, p. 450.

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 448-50.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 450.

⁸⁹ Pyrard, I, p. 206.

⁹⁰ Pires, vol. 2, p. 409.

⁹¹ Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, loc. cit., *Alg. Doc.*, p. 453.

⁹² Ibid., p. 450; Pires, vol. 2, pp. 414, 496-7. Most of the dried fish was to be sent to Sumatra, the slaves to the ports of Sunda.

⁹³ Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, loc. cit., *Alg. Doc.*, p. 452.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 451.

⁹⁵ One *faracola* of coir was worth four *nalles* of rice, but was worth twelve *nalles* during the monsoon, whilst one *kottei* of cowrie, normally worth twelve *nalles* of rice, rose in value to twenty-four and a half *nalles* during the same period (Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, loc. cit., *Alg. Doc.*, p. 453).

1 *nalle* = ½ *canada* (1 *canada* = 1.4 litres)

1 *kottei* = 12 *nalles* (calculation provided by Valentim Fernandes, *As Ilhas de Dyve*, published by H. Fitzler, 'Die Maldiven im 16 und 17 Jahrhundert', in *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, vol. 10 (1953-6), p. 249). It should be noted here that cowries were not only sent to the Gulf of Bengal, they were also shipped to Cairo, from where they were distributed as far as Guinea (Godinho, *Economie*, p. 292).

⁹⁶ Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, loc. cit., *Alg. Doc.*, p. 452.

⁹⁷ Probably the two *gundras* referred to by Nuno de Castro who reports that the few Portuguese on board these vessels had been killed or wounded during the

attack. (Nuno de Castro to D. Manuel, Cochín, 31 Oct. 1520, CA, VII, p. 173).

⁹⁸ Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, loc. cit., *Alg. Doc.*, p. 451. It was found in Cochín that the Maldives *feitoria* supplied an insufficient quantity of coir (Nuno de Castro to D. Manuel, loc. cit., CA, VII, p. 182).

⁹⁹ Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, loc. cit., *Alg. Doc.*, p. 453.

¹⁰⁰ The appointment of João Gomes as captain of the Maldives fortress is recorded in D. Manuel's Chancelaria (TdT, vol. 10, f. 132 *a-b*). For information on João Gomes' services, cf. in particular Castanheda, II/pp. 314, 434; III, pp. 218, 251, 252, 256, 259, 277, 278, 280, 300, 301; IV, pp. 393, 395, 408; V, pp. 13–14.

¹⁰¹ Barros, III/3–7, p. 146; Correia, II/2, pp. 568–9.

¹⁰² Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, loc. cit., *Alg. Doc.*, pp. 453–4.

¹⁰³ Nuno de Castro to D. Manuel, Cochín, 30 Oct. 1520, CA, VII, p. 182.

¹⁰⁴ Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, loc. cit., *Alg. Doc.*, pp. 448–54.

¹⁰⁵ Francisco de Mendonça Guedes to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 8 Jan. 1522, TdT, CC I-27–89, f. 1 *a*.

¹⁰⁶ Castanheda, V/48–50, pp. 79–83.

¹⁰⁷ Correia, II/2, p. 569.

¹⁰⁸ Castanheda, V/9, pp. 14–15; Góis, IV/32, p. 81.

¹⁰⁹ Barros, III/3–7, p. 146. None of the chroniclers put a date on the attack on the *feitoria*, but their context suggests the year 1519, which conflicts with the date of Alvaro Fernandes's letter (Cannanore, 20 Dec. 1520).

¹¹⁰ Simão Sodre to D. João III, Cochín, 28 Dec. 1526, in *Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Mocambique e na África Central*, Lisboa, vol. 6 (1969), p. 270.

¹¹¹ Correia, II/2, p. 569. Alvaro Fernandes, whose name does not appear after 1520, seems to have been killed. Gaspar d'Oútel, the *alcaide-mor*, escaped massacre, probably because he reached India earlier. He is mentioned later by Barros, III/6–7, p. 327, and by Castanheda, V/48, p. 80, V/68, pp. 108–10.

¹¹² Castanheda, V/38–43, pp. 63–74.

¹¹³ António de Miranda de Azevedo to D. Manuel, (Colombo), 8 Nov. 1519, in *As Gavetas*, IV, pp. 142–3.

¹¹⁴ G. Bouchon, *Les rois de Kōttē au début du XVI^e siècle*, in *MLI*, vol. 1 (1971).

¹¹⁵ Cristóvão Lourenço Caracão to D. Manuel, Cochín, 13 Jan. 1522, in *MLI*, vol. 1 (1971), p. 166.

¹¹⁶ Bouchon, loc. cit., pp. 81–2.

¹¹⁷ Castanheda, V/67–8, pp. 107–10.

¹¹⁸ Id., V/55, p. 87.

¹¹⁹ Id., V/57, pp. 90–1.

¹²⁰ Id., V/80, pp. 129–30.

¹²¹ Id., V/82, pp. 133–5.

¹²² Particularly in Canton, where the Banda ambassador's remarks caused a rupture, Castanheda, V/80, p. 129.

¹²³ Cristóvão Lourenço Caracão to D. Manuel, Cochín, 13 Jan. 1522, in *MLI*, vol. 1 (1971), p. 166.

¹²⁴ Castanheda, VI/48, p. 226.

¹²⁵ António da Fonseca to D. João III, Goa, 18 Oct. 1523, in *Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Mocambique e na África Central*, Lisbon, vol. 6 (1969),

pp. 194–6, exposes the injustices of such procedures.

¹²⁶ Zaynuddin/Lopes, pp. 50–1; Castanheda, VI/48, pp. 226–7.

¹²⁷ Correia, II/2, p. 679.

¹²⁸ Correia, II/2, p. 680.

¹²⁹ Zaynuddin lists these ports (ed. Lopes, p. 51). António da Fonseca (loc. cit., p. 186) states that Balia Hecem came from Cannanore, contradicting Castanheda, who gives his origins as Calicut (VI/93, p. 295). On the other hand, Logan, who bases his information on Māppila tradition writes that Balia Hecem was a subject of the rāja of Arakkal, that is of the Alī Rāja (I, p. 235).

¹³⁰ António da Fonseca, loc. cit., p. 186; Correia, II/2, p. 861.

¹³¹ António da Fonseca, loc. cit., p. 186; Castanheda, VI/48, p. 226; 57, p. 237; 74, p. 265.

¹³² Correia, II/2, p. 862.

¹³³ António da Fonseca, loc. cit., p. 186.

¹³⁴ Castanheda, VI/49, p. 227.

¹³⁵ António da Fonseca to D. João III, loc. cit., p. 186. This delay in the armada's arrival is also mentioned by P. Afonso Fernandes 'to D. João III, Cannanore, 10 Oct., 1523, in Silva Rego, *Documentação para a história das missões do padroado português do Oriente, Índia*. Lisbon, 1947, vol. 2, doc. 6).

¹³⁶ Castanheda, VI/48, p. 226.

¹³⁷ Id., VI/49, p. 227.

¹³⁸ Id., VI/57, p. 237.

¹³⁹ Id., VI/69, pp. 256–8.

¹⁴⁰ Balia Hecem's presence during the 1523–4 operations is confirmed by António da Fonseca (loc. cit., p. 186), Correia (II/2, pp. 679, 777, 811); his presence in the Maldives by Barros (III/9–1, p. 460).

¹⁴¹ Castanheda, VI/73, p. 264.

¹⁴² Barros, III/8–2, pp. 459–66; Castanheda, VI/75–7, pp. 266–70.

¹⁴³ Barros, III/9–1, p. 460; Correia, II/2, pp. 862–3.

¹⁴⁴ Castanheda, VI/80, p. 274.

¹⁴⁵ TdT, Coleção S. Vicente, vol. XI, f. 37 b, doc. 8 hereafter.

¹⁴⁶ Poca Amame to D. João III, Cannanore, 14 Jan. 1528, TdT, CC I-38–84, f. 1 a, doc. 6 hereafter.

¹⁴⁷ Castanheda, VI/80, p. 274. Barros specifies 30,000 *pardaos* (III/9–3, p. 469), Correia 20,000 *pardacs* given by Mamale (II/2, p. 862). These estimations are probably unrealistic.

¹⁴⁸ On 26 January according to the Coleção S. Vicente manuscript, loc. cit., and Barros, III/9–3, p. 469. Cf. also Castanheda, VI/80, p. 274, and Correia, II/2, p. 863.

¹⁴⁹ The Muslims had their own system of justice, but it was the sovereign who made the decisions relating to capital punishment.

¹⁵⁰ TdT, Coleção S. Vicente, loc. cit., f. 37 b; Barros, III/9–3, p. 469. Correia locates the place of refuge in Māyāi (II/2, p. 864) as does Castanheda (VI/81, p. 275) but the latter gives it the geographical characteristics of Dharmapaṭam by stating that the town stood on the river dividing the kingdoms of Cannanore and Calicut.

¹⁵¹ TdT, Coleção S. Vicente, loc. cit., f. 38 a; Castanheda, VI/81, p. 275; Barros, III/9–3, p. 469.

- ¹⁵² TdT, Coleção S. Vicente, loc. cit., f. 38 b.
- ¹⁵³ Barros, III/9-7 to 10, pp. 484-503; Castanheda, VI/104-23, pp. 312-50.
- ¹⁵⁴ Barros, III/9-6, p. 482, III/10-9, p. 530; Castanheda, VI/83, p. 278; VI/91, p. 292.
- ¹⁵⁵ Barros, III/9-6, pp. 483-4; Castanheda, VI/91, pp. 292-3.
- ¹⁵⁶ Castanheda, V/34, p. 56.
- ¹⁵⁷ Simão Sodre to D. João III, 28 Dec. 1526, in *Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Mocambique*, loc. cit., vol. 6 (1969) p. 270. According to this document, there were only four men at the Maldives *feitoria*, and not thirty to forty as claimed by Castanheda (VI/89, p. 289).
- ¹⁵⁸ Barros, III/9-5, pp. 479-80; Castanheda, VI/89, p. 289. The tenor of the letter patent from D. Manuel was confirmed by Lopo Vaz de Sampaio (to D. João III, Cochín, 31 Dec. 1527, *As Gavetas*, X, p. 666).
- ¹⁵⁹ Jorge Cabral to D. João III, Malacca, 10 Sept. 1527, TdT, CC I-22-80, f. 1 a-b, 2 a; Martim Afonso de Melo Jusarte to D. João III, Malacca, 26 Nov. 1527, TdT, CC II-145-15, f. 1 a-b. These two captains, who were sent to the islands at the beginning of 1526, did not write their report until the following year and only recorded their confrontations with the ships they encountered. Cf. also Diogo do Couto, VII/1-3, p. 22, and 1-6, pp. 38-9.
- ¹⁶⁰ Martim Afonso de Melo Jusarte to D. João III, loc. cit., f. 1 a.
- ¹⁶¹ António Real to D. Manuel, Cochín, 15 Dec. 1512, CA, III, p. 349.
- ¹⁶² Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Dec. 1520, *Alg. Doc.*, p. 452.
- ¹⁶³ Simão Sodre to D. João III, loc. cit., pp. 271-2. Cristóvão Leitão, and then Luís Martins were appointed Maldives fortress captains (merce, Evora, 1 April 1525, Nucleo Antigo 873, f. 99 b; Lopo Vaz de Sampaio to D. João III, Cochín, 31 Dec. 1527, *As Gavetas*, X, p. 666) but this building could not be constructed until the middle of the century.
- ¹⁶⁴ Bell, *The Maldiv Islands*, Colombo, 1940, p. 25.
- ¹⁶⁵ Barros, III/3-7, p. 142 even states that they were forty sea leagues from the Malabar coast.
- ¹⁶⁶ Barbosa, vol. 2, p. 104.
- ¹⁶⁷ *Vide supra*, chap. I, p. 3.
- ¹⁶⁸ João de Lisboa, Livro da Marinharia, in A. Cortesão, *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica*, vol. 1, plate 96. Lisbon, 1960. The Islands of Mamale still appear on an early eighteenth century map: *Carte des Indes et de la Chine*, by Guillaume de l'Isle, Paris/Amsterdam, 1705.
- ¹⁶⁹ Innes and Evans, *Madras District Gazetteers, Malabar*, Madras, 1951, vol. 1, p. 421.
- ¹⁷⁰ Zaynuddin/Lopes, p. 70; Pyrdard, I/p. 322.
- ¹⁷¹ A feitor e os officiais de Cananor to D. João III, Cannanore, 15 Jan. 1527, TdT, CC I-35-76, doc. 5 hereafter.
- ¹⁷² *Ibid.*, f. 1 a.
- ¹⁷³ Afonso Fernandes to D. João III, Cannanore, 10 Oct. 1523 in Silva Rego, *Documentação para a história do padroado português do Oriente, Índia*, Lisbon, 1947, vol. 2, doc. 6. Only one ship put into the port that year, the wages having been unpaid for more than twelve months. The Portuguese garrison and the indigenous Christians owed their subsistence to the generosity of D. João da

Silveira who was in command of the fortress from 1521 to 1524 and kept an open house at his own expense. D. João's behaviour was reported to D. João III by the Bishop of Dume (Cochin, 28 Dec. 1523, in Silva Rego, *Documentação*, op. cit., vol. 2, doc. 7).

¹⁷⁴ O feitor e os oficiais de Cananor a D. João III, Cannanore, 15 Jan. 1527, loc. cit., f. 2 a, 4 b.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., f. 1 a-b.

¹⁷⁶ The second part of the *Corpo cronologico da Torre do Tombo* reveals how the armada equipment was deployed in Chaul and Goa after 1519.

¹⁷⁷ O feitor e os oficiais de Cananor a D. João III, Cannanore, 15 Jan. 1527, loc. cit., f. 2 b-3 a.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., f. 2 b, 3 a, 3 b.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., f. 3 b and 4 a.

¹⁸⁰ Afonso Fernandes to D. João III, Cannanore, 10 Oct. 1523, in Silva Rego, *Documentação*, op. cit., vol. 2, doc. 6.

¹⁸¹ O feitor e os oficiais de Cananor a D. João III, loc. cit., f. 3 b.

¹⁸² Afonso Fernandes to D. João III, loc. cit.

¹⁸³ O feitor e os oficiais de Cananor a D. João III, loc. cit., f. 4 a.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., f. 1 a.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., f. 1 b, 2 a, 4 a.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., f. 4 a-b.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., f. 2 a.

¹⁸⁸ Poca Amame to D. João III, Cannanore, 14 Jan. 1528, TdT, CC I-38-84.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., f. 1 a.

¹⁹⁰ Zaynuddin/Lopes, p. 65; Diogo do Couto, V/10-8.

¹⁹¹ The twenty-ninth Alī Rāja sultan was a contemporary of William Logan (c. 1885), *Malabar Manuel*, vol. 1, p. 360, n. 1.

¹⁹² Schurhammer, *Die Zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch Asiens und seiner Nachbarländer, 1538-1552*, Roma, 1962, n° 115 and index pp. 523 and 616) suggests the interpretation Pocaralle = Abu Bekr Ali (cf. Zaynuddin/Lopes, p. 65). For Correia, Pocaralle was Mamale's brother.

¹⁹³ Sebastião Rodrigues Maresim to D. João III, Cannanore, 6 Feb. 1528, TdT, CC I-39-17, f. 2 a. This document is the oldest written evidence of the Alī Rāja title.

¹⁹⁴ Logan, vol. 1, p. 360, note 1.

¹⁹⁵ Diogo do Couto, V/10-18.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., VII/16-18.

¹⁹⁷ Pyrard gives the name of 'Malabares' to the Māppila and that of 'Naires' to the highest of the Hindu castes.

¹⁹⁸ Pyrard, I, pp 725-6 (translated by Gray, op. cit., pp. 444-6).

APPENDICES

1

LETTER FROM TIMOJI TO D. FRANCISCO DE ALMEIDA

[1508-1509]
TdT, CVR 89

[1a] Esta carta he pera o Viso-Rey de Timogy que lhe beija as mãos e os pees. A carta que me Vosa Senhoria mandou ya ha vy e folgey muito com ela. Sabera Vosa Senhoria que el-Rey de Narçimga mandou por mim e quando a ele chegey fez-me muita merçe, saber, deu-me hum colar d'ouro de pedraria pera o pescoço e outro pera o braço e deu-me dous mil panos pera vestir minha yemte toda, e mais me deu dez mill pardaos d'oirro pera tratar em cavallos pera elle, e fez-me tanta omrra que nam poso tanta escrever. E saberes que o çambuco de Mamale de Cananor o Çaguay o tomou e matou todos los mouros que nele vinham. He fez-se tam forte no mar que todos los sambucos que per hy pasam todos os toma e a jente deles mata. E o portador desta carta o que ele a Vosa Senhoria dixer crea-lho porque he homem antre nos de credito. E eu mandei duas naos pequenas minhas a buscar lenho pera Vosa Senhoria e te ora nom vierão, e nos ouvimos que eles vinham carregadas e o senhor de Guoa os tomara. E eu busquei lenho pera que derrador e nom nom (*sic*) pude achar. E saberes, Senhor, que o senhor de Goa cada dia se faz mais forte e nemgem nom navega no medo dele, e o Çaguay faz-se prestes com çem çambucos pequenos e b naaos grandes. E vaay em busca de Vosa Senhoria e ysto te chegar a Calecu e com os mouros dela hirem tomarem o castelo de Cochim. E estas novas Vosa Senhoria cuyde nelas, e mais sabera Vosa Senhoria que o Çaguai mandou vinte omes ao Malabar deles, a Cochim e a Cananor pera saberem quantas bonbardas tendes e quanta jente e naos e o castelo da maneira que soa e ysto tudo escrevo por amor que de tempo antigo e daqui em diante totalas novas que ouvir-as-ey d'estprever a Vosa Senhoria porque sou voso amigo e [1b] le mereçe que Vosa Senhoria me ha de fazer que m'estpreva o que he neçesario a Vosa Senhoria porque estou prestes pera servir. Beijo as mãos de Vosa Senhoria.

Original

LETTER FROM D. JOÃO DA SILVEIRA TO
D. MANUEL, KING OF PORTUGAL

[Colombo], 27. X.1519
TdT, CC I-25-68

[1a] Senhor,

Ja Vossa Alteza tera sabydo per Lopo Ssoarez, que Deus levarya ha salvamento, ho estado em que m'entregou esta ffortaleza que ffoy loguo com temçam dele mesmo ha vyr ffazer dahy a quatro messes porque bem vyo que desta maneyra nam podya estar mays tempo sem muyta ffadygua ; depoy de ssua hyda não se ffez nada. Camdo vy tall começo empareya d'agua que aquy chove muyto he com tudo cayo hum pedaço dela, he com reçoeyo que caysse toda ffyz a roda dela hũa cava boa com hũa estacada em que estyvese fforte, porque cada dya tynha nova que ss'ayuntava gemte pera vyr ssobre nos he asy era verdade / / / / / ffoy para hyr comtra hum rey vyzynho deste com que aguora tem gera, nam ffora muyto te-la comnosquo sse ystu nam ffora porque sua amyza de ffycou duvydossa he aynda ha nam tenho por muyto ffyxa polas manhas de que lhe veyo ussar. Não quebrou ate guora comnosquo, nam me tymy nem temo ssenão de foguo que pode lamçar do mar na ffortaleza qu'esta cuberta d'ola por medo d'agoa, mas nysto tenho tam boa vygya qu'espero em Deus que ho nam ffaram estas coussas he outras que ssobre vynham. Escrevy loguo per tera a Dyoguo Lopez que soube que vynha por capitam-mor he depoy per hũa caravela que aquy mandou ssaber nova que vyo bem ha estreya em que estavamos he mays na ffeytorya nam avya dynheyro pera pagar ho mantymmento aos homens. Quys Deus que tynha meu algum com que lhe pagey algumas pagas he depois ho ffeytor emprestou ho que pode, acabado este pydy emprestado a hum Alyxandre de Tayde algum que ssoube certo que tynha, dysse-me habertamente que não querya, emtam lhe mandey tomar pelo dyto ffeytor he escryvam ho que nos pareceo que abomdarya te ho provymmento [1b] de Quochym que cada dya esperavamos, ho quall aynda tardou tamto que não habastou he Gaspar Ffernandez, cryado de Voss'Alteza, me hoffereço he emprestou hum

pouco he com este sustyna gemte te ho que veyo que fforam myll pardaos de que sse devya ja mays d'outros tamtos como per deradeyro tynha escryto, he asy vyeram trezemtos ffardos d'aroz que em hũa paga foy todo he quoremta quymtaeis de cobre que aquy não tem valya. He com esta estreyta me tinham fogydos alguns homens pera ho rey, maomdey-lhos pydir; pos-se em não nos dar ssem syguro e porque no comçerto qu'esta ssemtado he o comtrayro nam lho dey mas amte fyz repressarya em alguns da tera que tyve te que m'os deu. Crea Voss'Alteza que foy este bom remedyo para nam fygrem cada dia. Espero por algum aroz de Choramandell remedearmey com ele como Deus melhore. Mandam o capytam-mor que faça esta fortaleza com a call d'alguma comcha de que ha cy de fazer aquy em que podera aver çymqoemta moyos ssegundo tenho ssabydo pello omens que am de fazer, folgarya que avomdasse para remendar ystu qu'esta feyto homde me parecer que e mays neçesaryo, tambem / / / / / / / / / / lhe mandase alguma gemte desta que aquy tenho de que tynha neçesydade he asy alguns berços, com-pry sseu mandado aynda que não ao que compre a fortaleza qu'esta tam fraca. He mays, de tres fustas que aquy fycaram nam ha ssenam hũa, ssem as quaees esta bem craro que a dita fortaleza presta quy pouco ou nada porque com helas sse pode tolher nam vyr nynhum mantymto a ylha, he com este medo sse pagam as ditas pareas he por neçesydade das ditas fustas tomei hum caravelam que aquy mandou ho capitam-mor pera levar caregua he mamdey-lhe hũa caravela que ya quy nam podya sservir nem qoreyer; he com estas quebras he com hos emganos dos feytores de Mamale que dysseram ao Rey que esta fortaleza ss'avya de desmanchar por fazerem ha carega a ssua vomtade como fyzeram, sse mostrou aguora ho dito rey dovydosso em pagar yso que la vay, mas o que fyca, crea Voss'Alteza que o am de pagar todo por lhe nam fycar mao custume porque nysto me trabalho por bom começo nas coussas que podem fycar em foro he assy foram maos d'armar a vir pessar a canela a fortaleza, em fym ya esta ssemtado e eles comtemtes; da canela que ho rey aquy mandou muyta parte lhe emgeyten porque lhe nam tornava [2a] ssenam a muyto escolheyta e nysto me trabalhey por fycarem bem customados peras outras pagas e pera a mays ruymda desta am de dar c porque ho muyto apertava por hos navyos çedo partyrem me deu das naos de Mamalle por sser boa canela huma pouca com que ssios (sic) navyos acabaram de carregar e aos das naos pagou de maneyra que fycaram comtemtes e creo que muyto boa he toda ha que la vay sse hos que ha escolhyamos nos nam em-ganamos sse mays navios vyeram todos foram caregados. Nesses hyram

çemta çymqoemta bares que mays nam puderam levar ; he vam mays seys alyfantes em hũa nao malavar que veo de Cochym em que nam couberam mays ; estes mouros de Mamale ssam aquy muy oudyossos que sam ja tam areygados na tera que lhe crydo quantas cousas dizem com que fazem ho que lhe vem bem e hestrovam ho sservyço de Voss'Alteza como mays comprydamente tenho escripto ao capitam-mor ; ho que desta ylha tenho ssabydo tegora he ya esta canela, de que ha grande camtydade he assy muytos alyfantes, algum marfym. Ha hy pedrarya te quy nam sse descobre a nos ssenam muy pouca ha quall nyngem pode venider ssenam este mesmo rey / / / / hy outros reis he alguns ssenhoryos todos sse mamtem com aroz que lhe vem per mar. Sse amdassem aquy çymqo ou seys fustas que lho bem podyam tolher parece-me que vyryam a todo partydo. Tenho mays ssabydo que daquy duas leguoas sse pesca aljofar ; trabalharey por me çertefycar do que nyssso se pode fazer he asy ho escreverei ao capitam-mor para sse oulhar ho que for sservyço de Voss'Alteza. Lopo Ssoarez me leyxou aquy preso ho dito Alyxandre da Tayde pola culpa que la dyrra ; com tudo quys fazer dele fyell he achey-o bem pollo comtrayro pois danava camto eu aproveytava he camdo vy ysto premdi-o camdo começey de pydir as pareas por que mays nam danasse e soltey-o como comecey de as aver mamdey-o ao dito capitam-mor e escrevy-lhy ssua culpa he asy fyquou Ruy Gonçalvez que ho fez em tudo como boa pessoa que he que tambem vay pera Quochym per mandado do capitam-mor.

Mays me mandou o dito capitam-mor que nestas naos de Mamalle lhe mandase dous alyfantes porque elle mesmo lho tinha ya emcomendado e elle prometydo, nam pude acabar que hos levassem nam nos pude apremar porque m'escreveo que lhe nam posesse nynhum [2b] embarguo a ssua yda como ho que hos pudera ssogygar leva-llos.

Com este rey abry camynho pera sse darem cadano com as ditas pareas alguns aneys, e deram aguora doze, trabalharey que pera o ano dem mays e mylhores que esses no que aguora nam quys apertar porque nam ssam a yssso hobrygados. Desta ffortaleza de Çeylam, a vymta ssete dias d'outubro de 1519.

Dom Joham da Sylveira

Adresse : A el-Rey noso senhor

Apostil : de Dom Joham da Sylveira de Çeylam
Lançada aberta.

Original

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT (CONHECIMENTO)

[Colombo], 19. X. 1519

RECEIPT (RECIBO)

[Cannanore], 15. XI. 1520

TdT, CC II-92-106

Senhores feitor e ofeçyaes da feytoria de Cananor, cliij cruzados
xb fanões ix tangas

Cotyale e Ale Moçara capitães de Mamale emprestarrão nesta feytoria de Çeylão quinze mill fanões da tera que valyão quando os emprrestarão quynze hũa tanga que fazem mill tangas, o quall dynheiro emprrestarão pera mantymto desta fortaleza fazemo-lo saber a Vosas Merçes pera la lhe fazerdes pagamento do dito dinheiro, os quaes quinze mill fanões fycão em reçeyta sobre Antonio de Lemos feitor per mim Frrançisco Paiz esprivão desta feytoria. Feito oje dezanove dias d'outubrrro de mill e quynhentos e dezanove.

Signé : Antonio de Lemos Frrançisco Paiz Gaspar d'Araujo

Reçebeo Mamale, mourro de Cananor, de Antonio de Carvalho feitor del-Rey noso ssenhor, mil tangas contendas neste çertydão e por verdade assynou aquy comigo Duarte Barbosa escrivão da feytoria, o xb de novembro de 1520.

Signé : Duarte Barbosa

Signature autographe en malayalam

Apostil : arrecade ... ho dinheiro da feitoria porque ho nom pagaram ca.

Original

INQUIRY SET UP IN CEYLON BY LOPO DE BRITO REGARDING THE TRIBUTE AND THE CINNAMON

[Colombo], 1522
TdT, CC II-99-102

Trellado de ymquiriçam que se tirou presentemte Llopo de Brito capitam desta ffortalleza de Çeilam per hum alvara do capitam-mor.

[1a] Anno do naçymemto de Noso Senhor Yhesu Christo de myll e quynhemtos e vymte e dous anos aos vymte e tres dias do mes de janeyro da sobredita era, em esta ffortalleza de Çeilam per hum patamar ffoy apresentado a Llopo de Bryto, capitam da dita fortalleza, hum alvara do senhor Dom Duarte de Meneses, capitam-moor e guovernador da Índia, o quall alvara vysto per elle capitam ffoy lloguo cumprido e mandou trelladar em este auto de verbo a verbo do quall alvara o trellado he ho seguynte. Dom Duarte de Meneses do comselho del-Rei nosso senhor, capitam gerall e governador das Índias e capitam guovernador da çydade de Tangere, faço a ssaber a vos Llopo de Bryto capitam por ho dito senhor em Ceilam que el-Rei nosso senhor me escreveo huma carta em que me manda que me çertefique por testemunhas e pessoas que nessa ylha estavam em tempo de Dom Joham da Sylveira, por cuya culpa a ssua cannella que hos mouros dessa tera ssam obrygados de lhe pagar em cada hum ano vem danada ; pollo quall da parte do dito senhor e da mynha vos mamdo que mamdes vir ante vos hum tabaliam dahy e com vosquo hum emqueredor e façeçe tirar o testemunho das partes que em tempo de Dom Joham da Sylveira se ha hy acertaram, os quaees seram perguntadas per estes artigos :

[1b] Item. O primeiro ssera quanto tempo estam na dita ilha.

Item. Se sabem quamtas vezes em tempo de Dom Joham da Sylveira se receberam as pareas del-Rei nosso senhor.

Item. Maneira se tinha ao reçeber da canella e quem era presentemte quando se reçebia.

Item. Sse reçebiam a esto maa e booa assy como vynha.

Item. Se por lhe tomarem roym se lhe tomavam dous pessos por hum.

Item. Que por que lha assy tomassem se lhe davam por yssas peitas e sse as recebeo o capitam e officyaees.

Item. Se polla ventura se sse danou por deffeyto das naos serem velhas e fazerem agoa, e tirada asy a dita ymquiryçam e assynada per as testemunhas e per vos e emqueredor e asellada, maa emviarees per a prymeira via que pera qua vyer semdo segura e fficamdo vos lla o trellado della pera que a propea se sse perde se torne a veer por ho trellado e cumprido assy e com brevydade, feito em Cochym aos vymte e çymqo dias de novembro o secretareo o ffez de myll e quynhentos e vymte e hum.

E trellado assy o dito alvara e artigos com o dito he ho dito capitam mandou per amte ssy vir Dioguo de Baios e lhe mandou que ffosse emqueredor deste ffeito e perguntasse as testemunhas que sse neste caso apresetassem, as quaees fforam perguntadas per amte o dito capitam. Joham d'Almeida, pubrico tabeliam em a dita ffortalleza o escrevy.

[2a] Item. Bautista Pirez, ssobre rolda desta ffortalleza, testemunha jurado aos sanctos Avangelhos que lhe per o dito emqueredor ffoy dado em presemça do dito capitam e perguntado per o custume e coussas que lhe pertemçem disse nychell.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o primeiro artigo e hapontamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergumta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que era verdade que veo pera esta ylha ao tempo que Llopo Soarez aqui veo que sse esta fortalleza emtam ffez sem numqua mays sair ffora da dita ilha, e do dito artigo e apontamento all nom dise.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o segumdo artigo e apontamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergumta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que a primeira paga que se aqui ffez das pareas que el-Rei de Çeilam paga a el-Rei nosso senhor que Llopo Soarez capitam-moor que emtam era mandou receber a primeira paga que ho dito Rei de Çeilam fez a el-Rei noso senhor, e que elle nom sabe quamto pagaram nem quamto eram e disse elle testemunha que a segumda paga ffoy feita a Dom Yoão da Sylveira que emtam aqui era capitam e as outras pagas foram feitas a Llopo de Bryto que despoys aqui entrou por capitam, e do dito artigo e apontamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o terçeiro artigo e hapontamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergumta que era o que dello [2b] sabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que quando se recebea a canella que era presente Antonio

de Lemos que era ffeitor e ffrancisco Paez e Gaspar d'Araujo escryvães e que muitas vezes hya o capitam Dom Joham da Sylveira a ver a dita canella sse era maa ou booa e o que se no dito pesso ffazia, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o quarto artigo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que quamdo se ha dita canella trazia que muyta della achavam roym e ha emgeitavam e a nom queryam toinar aos negros e que sempre elle testemunha vyo emgeitar a ma e escolher a booa e que toda a booa se levava pera Portugall, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o quymto artigo e hapomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que numqua vyo tomar senam hum ssoo pesso de muyto boo canella como dito tem e temdo muytas comtemdas com os negros que ha dita canella traziam, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o sseisto artigo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que numqua ouvio dezer nem ssabe que por tomarem roym canella nem booa que nunca toniassem peitas aos negros ho capitam e nem offiçyaees como no dito artigo e apomtamento faz memçam, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

[3a] Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o seteno artigo e hapomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, dise elle testemunha que a canella que daqui Dom Joham mandou foy na nao Samta Cruz he em huma caravella e em huma nao de Mamalle, mouro que hya pera Cananor, e sse as ditas naos ffaziam aguoas ou nam que elle testemunha o nom sabe, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse. Yoão d'Almeida tabeliam o escrevy.

Item. Gregoreo Mendez, cassado nesta ffortalleza, testemunha jurado aos santos Avangelhos que lhe per o dito emqueredor ffoy dado em presemça do dito capitam e pergumtado per o costume e coussas que lhe pertemçem disse nychell.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o primeiro artigo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era ho que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que esteve sempre nesta ffortalleza des que se ffez atee agora

sem numqa desta ylha ir fora, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom dise.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o segumdo artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que no tempo que aqui Dom Joham da Sylveira esteve por capitam se fez huma paga das pareas que el-Rei de Çeilam paga a el-Rei nosso senhor, e do dito artigo e hapomtamento all nom disse.

[3b] Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o terceiro artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que quamdo se a dita canella recebia era presente Am-tonyo de Lemos que aqui era ffeitor e Framçysquo Paez e Gaspar d'Araujo escryvãees e que tambem algumas vezes hia ahy teer Dom João da Sylveira capitam a ver o que faziam ou como pessaram a dita canella, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quarto artigo e apoin-tamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que quamdo se a dita canella recebia que elle muytas vezes a vira escolher ha Gaspar d'Arauyo a boo e emgeitar a maa, e disse elle testemunha que muytas vezes vyra a queixar-se Dom Joham que lhe traziam roym canella que mandava estar sempre hahy os ofiçyaees pera escolherem a booa canella da roym como dito tem, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quymto artigo e hapom-tamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, dise elle testemunha que nom sabe nem ouvyra dezer nunca que hos ofiçyaees tomassem dous pessos de canella roym por hum bom nem mays do que atraz tem dito e decrarado, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom dise.

[4a] Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seisto artigo e apoin-tamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que nom sabe nem ouvio dezer que o dito Dom Joham e ofiçyaees regebesem peitas dos mouros por lhe regeberem roym canella, e do dito artigo e apointamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seteno artigo e hapoin-tamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que he

verdade que hao tempo que sse careguou a nao Samta Cruz de canella despoys da dita nao ser caregada chovera muyto e que elle testemunha fora a dita nao e que hos marynheiros della lhe disseram que emtrava muyta aguo a por a cuberta, e disse elle testemunha que lhe parece que por este respeito por asy emtrar aguo a por a cuberta sse poderya danar a canella, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse. Yoão d'Almeida pubrico tabeliam o escrevy.

Item. Gravyell Ffernamdez, cassado nesta fortalleza, testemunha jurado aos samtos Avangelhos que lhe per o dito emqueredor foy dado em presemça do dito capitam e perguntado per o costume e coussas que lhe pertencem disse nychell.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o prymeiro artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dyto alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta [4b] que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que despoys que sse esta fortalleza começou atee agora sempre esteve na dita ylha, e do dito artigo e hapomtamento all nom dise.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o segumdo artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que aqui se fez huma soo paga das pareas que el-Rei de Çeilam paga a el-Rei noso senhor a Dom Joham da Sylveira que era capitam, e do dito artigo e hapomtamento all nom dise.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o terceiro artigo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que quando sse a canella recebia que era presemte Amtonyo de Lemos ffeitor e Framcisco Paees e Gaspar d'Araujo escryvães, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o quarto artigo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que quando traziam a canella sse vinha alguma roym que ha emgeitavam e escolhyam a booa e caregavam a booa e deixavam a roym e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o quymto artigo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo foy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello [5a] sabia, dise elle testemunha que nunqua vyo nem ouvvyo dezer que tomassem dous pessos de canella roym per hum bom como no artigo fez memçam, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seisto artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabya, disse elle testemunha que nom ssabe nam ouvio dezer que ho capitam nem ofiçyaees dos negros llevassem peita nem d'outra nenhuma pessoa por elles, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seteno artigo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, dise elle testemunha que aqui veo teer huma nao del-Rei nosso senhor per nome chamada Santa Cruz a quall fora da Chyna teer a Côchym e que sem mays ser coregida veo aqui ter segumdo elle testemunha ouvio dezer, a quall nao por trazer a cuberta aberta mandou o capitam carafatees a dita nao a calafeta-lla e o que mays nyssou se passou que elle testemunha o nom sabe e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse. João d'Almeida tabeliam o escrevy.

Item. Gaspar Llopez, mestre dos calafates, cassado nesta fortalleza, testemunha jurado aos santos Avangelhos que lhe per o dito emqueredor ffoy dado em presemça do dito capitam e perguntado per o custume e coussas que lhe pertemçem disse nychell.

[5b] Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o primeiro artigo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que pode aver tres anos que esta nesta ffortalleza e ylha e que despoys que se esta fortaleza começou atee agora sem nunqua se fora ir e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom dise.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o ssegumdo artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que ssabe que Dom Joham da Sylveira reçebeo huma soo paga o tempo que aqui ffoy capitam das pareas que el-Rei de Çeilam paga a el-Rei nosso senhor, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o terceiro artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, dise elle testemunha que quando se a dita canella reçehia que eram presentes Amtonyo de Llemos ffeitor e Fframcysquo Paez e Gaspar d'Araujo escryvãees e que muytas vezes hya ahy teer Dom Joham da Sylveira a veer o que ffaziam, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o quarto artigo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, dise elle testemunha que he verdade que quamdo os mouros emtregavam a canella aos offiçyaees [6a] del-Rei nosso senhor que elle avia escolher e tomar a booa e deixar a roym e emgeita-lla, e que alguma vyra elle testemunha tomar hum pouquo verde porem era muito boa e que desta maneira a vio elle testemunha receber, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o quymto artigo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, dise elle testemunha que nunqua vyo nem ouvio dezer que tomassem dous pessos de canella roym por hum bom salvo como no artigo e apomtamento tem dito, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per ho seisto artigo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que nunqua vyo nem ouvio dezer que ho capitam nem offiçyaees tomassem peitas por lhe tomarem roym canella, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o seteno e ffinall artigo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, dise elle testemunha que he verdade que aquelle anno que Dom Yoão da Sylveira ffez a carega da canella que ffoy em huma nao del-Rei nosso senhor que sse chama Samta Cruz e por a dita nao ser podre e velha o dito Dom Yoão da Sylveira a mandou coreger o mylhor que pode ser e que elle testemunha fora lla com os outros calafates [6b] per mandado de Dom Joham a corege-lla e que por a dita nao ser muita velha e podre toda aguo a que chovya hya teer abaixo porque nom querya manter estopa na cuberta nem na alcaçova nem em toda a nao e assy ffazia tambem a dita nao per bayxo, e que elle testemunha ouvira dezer que quamdo a nao daquy partira com a canella que alguma delle hya ja molhada por chover muyto, e disse elle testemunha que ouvira dezer ao mestre e ao pilloto e marynheiros da dita nao que como a nao era a vella no mar que se abrya e jugava toda per bayxo e per riba e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse. Yoão d'Almeida publico tabeliam o escrevy.

Item. Pero Tavares, homem d'armas, testemunha jurado aos santos Avangelhos que lhe per o dito emqueredor ffoy dado em presemça do dito capitam e pergumtado per o costume e cousas que lhe pertemçem disse nyhell.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o primeiro artigo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que elle veo aqui teer na nao Samta Cruz em que Dom Joham ffez a primeira caregua na dita nao Samta Cruz e de aquelle tempo atee agora sempre esteve nesta ylha e ffortalleza, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o segumdo artigo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e ffeita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que em tempo [7a] que aqui Dom Joham da Sylveira ffora capitam que elle vyra receber huma soo paga das pareas que el-Rei de Çeilam paga a el-Rei nosso senhor, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o terceiro artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, dise elle testemunha que he verdade que quamdo se a canella reçebia que estava de presemte Amtonyo de Lemos, feitor, Framçysquo Paez e Gaspar d'Araujo escryvâes e que muytas vezes hya hahy teer Dom Yoão da Sylveira a ver o que ffaziam, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quarto artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que quamdo se a dita canella reçebia que escolhyam a booa e emgeitavam a roym aos negros que ha traziam e disse elle testemunha que ssabe que ho dito Dom Joham mandou queimar huma gramde soma de canella dos negros que lhe assy emgeitavam, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom dise.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quymto artigo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo foy llido e decrarado e ffeita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que nunqua vyra nem ouvira dezer que tomassem dous pessos de canella roym per hum bom, [7b] e do dito artigo e hapomtamento all nom dise.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seisto artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que nunqua vyo nam ouvio dezer que ho capitam nem offiçyaees tomasem peitas de lhe tomarem booa canella nem roym, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seteno artigo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia disse elle testemunha que he verdade que elle vyera da Índia na nao Santa Cruz omde o dito Dom João da Sylveira mamdoera ha canella e que quando de Cochym partio que ha dita nao vynha ya podre e que ffazia muita agoa e que ho dito Dom Joham a mandara coregeer o myllhor que pode e que por a nao ser podre bem poderya no mar abryr agoa, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse. João d'Almeida pubrico tabeliam o escrevy.

Item. Framçysquo Llopez, homem d'armas, testemunha jurado aos samtos Avangelhos que lhe per o dito emqueredor foy dado em presemça do dito capitam e perguntado per o custume e coussas que lhe pertemçem disse nychell.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o primeiro artigo e hapomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, dise elle testemunha que he verdade que veo pera esta [8a] ylha com Llopo Soarez que ffez esta ffortalleza e des que se ffez atee agora sempre esteve nella, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o segumdo artigo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que em tempo que haquy Dom Joham da Sylveira ffora capitam se recebeo huma soo veez as pareas que el-Rei de Çeilam paga a el-Rey noso senhor, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o terçeiro artigo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que quando sse a dita canella recebia que era presente Amtonyo de Llemos feitor e Framçysquo Paez e Gaspar d'Araujo escryvães, e do dito artigo e hapomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quarto artigo e hapomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia disse elle testemunha que he verdade que quando os offçyaes del-Rei nosso senhor recebiam a canella que ha escolhyam e tomavam a booa e emgeitavam a royn aos mouros, e disse elle testemunha que por os negros nom darem canella em abastamça pera caregarem as naos del-Rei nosso senhor e por que a monçam nom passase e aqui estavam duas naos de Cananor caregadas

[8b] de canella que Dom João da Sylveira mandara as ditas naos tomar çertos fardos de canella, vyera em tera e ffora pesada emfardellada assy como vynha das naos e assy fora levada as naos del-Rei noso senhor e que sse esta canella que assy vyera emffardellada era booa ou nam que elle testemunha o nam sabe nem sabe quamtos fardos de canella tomaram as ditas naos, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o quymto artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo foy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que nunqua vyo nem ouvio dezer que hos offiçyaees tomasem dous pessos de canella roym per hum bom, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o seisto artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que nom ssabe nem ouvyo dezer que ho capitam tomasse peitas nem os offiçyaees aos negros por lhe tomarem roym canella por booa e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o seteno artigo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que a nao Samta Cruz que haquio veo era velha e que elle testemunha ouvira dezer ao calafate que ffora lla per mamdado de Dom João [9a] da Sylveira que a nao era tam velha e tam podre que ha coregia per hum cabo e que abrya per outro e que se se a canella danou ou molhou por a nao fazer muita aguoá que elle testemunha o nam sabe, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse. João d'Almeida tabeliam o escrevy.

Item. Guylherme de Burgees, comdestabre desta fortalleza, testemunha yurado aos samtos Avamgelhos que lhe per o dito emqueredor foy dado em presemça do dito capitam e perguntado per o custume e coussas que lhe pertemçem dise nychell.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o primeiro artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que vyera teer com Llopo Soarez a esta ylha e que des que se esta ffortalleza começou de fazer ate aguoza sempre aqui esteve sem numqua yr ffora desta ylha, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o segumdo artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado

e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que ho tempo que aqui esteve Dom Joham da Sylveira por capitam se foy huma soo paga das pareas que el-Rei de Çeilam paga a ell-Rei nosso senhor, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

[9b] Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o terceiro artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que quando se a canella reçebia que estava presentem Amtonyo de Lemos feitor e Fframçisco Paez e Gaspar d'Araujo escryvãees, e do dito artigo e apomtamemto all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quarto artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que quando se a dita canella reçebia que vyo escolher a booa aees offyçyaees que hahy estavam e emgeitar a roym a estes negros que ha traziam per mamdado de Dom João da Sylveira, e do dito artigo e hapomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per ho quymto artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que nunca vyra nem ouvira dezer que hos ofiçyaees reçebesem dous pessos de canella roym per hum bom, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seisto artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, dise elle testemunha que nunca vyo nem ouvyo dezer que ho capitam Dom Joham da Sylveira tomase peitas nem os ofiçyaees [10a] com elle mas que amtes vyra a queixar-se Dom João porque hos negros nom traziam canella e que mandou a huma nao que aqui estava de Cananor tomar canella e faze-lla caregar nas naos del-Rei nosso senhor, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seteno artigo e ffinal apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que elle vyra a queixar-sse ao mestre da nao Santa Cruz que haqui vyra a Dom João da Sylveira que aquella nao que fazia muita aguoia e que emtam mandara o dito Dom João a dita nao a corege-lla e que vysem sse a dita nao era segura pera poder levar caregua e por o coregimento que lhe assy fezeriam disseram os ofiçyaees que ha foram coreger

que poderia levar caregua com outras duas que daqui fforam e que se sse lla danou ou nam que elle testemunha o nam sabe, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse. Joham d'Almeida publico tabeliam o escrevy.

Item. Nuno Alvarez, proveador dos defumtos desta ffortalleza, testemunha jurado aos samtos Avamgelhos que lhe per o dito emqueredor ffoy dado em presemça do dito capitam e perguntado per o custume e coussas que lhe pertemçem disse nychell.

[10b] Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o prymeiro artigo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que des que sse esta ffortalleza começou atee agora sempre aqui esteve e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o ssegundo artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que no tempo que aqui Dom Yoão da Sylveira esteve por capitam que se nom ffez mays que huma soo pagua das pareas que el-Rei de Çeilam paga a el-Rey nosso senhor, e ajumtamdo se a canella no segumdo anno do seu tempo vyera Llopo de Bryto por capitam pera a dita fortalleza e lhe ffizeram aquella pagua, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o terceiro artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que hao receber da canella ao pesso estavam comtinoadamente fframçysquo Paaez e Gaspar d'Araujo escryvãees e ho capitam muitas ymfimdas vezes e que sse Amtonyo de Lemos feitor deixou de ir hahy estas algumas vezes foy porque era doemte de peçonha que hos seus escravos lhe deram da quall moreo, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

[11a] Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quarto artigo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que segundo Deus e sua comçyemçya lhe parece que se emgeitou muito gramde soma de canella que sse aqueixava el-Rei de Çeilam e os negros que per sua parte ao pesso estavam e com todo nom deixavam d'escolher a booa e deixar a roym e emgeita-lla, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quymto artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que ouvira dezer que os negros por se verem tam afadigados do escolher

da canella que dariam dous pessos por hum e que os offiçyaees e capitam disseram que nom aviam de comsemtir nysso que lhe nom cometessem isso e que ysto ouvira elle testemunha dezer jerallmente mas que se isto assy ffoy cometido e feito ou nam que elle testemunha o nam sabe, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha pera o sseisto artigo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, dise elle testemunha que numqua vyo nem ouvio dezer que ho capitam nem ofiçyaees tomasem peitas por receberem boa canella nem maa, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

[11b] Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seteno e finall artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que ouvio dezer ao mestre dos calafatees que huma nao que se chama Samta Cruz que aqui veo por a dita canella que afora ver per mandado de Dom Yohão capitam pera veer se lhe era neçesareo alguma coussa pera lhe coreguer e que elle dito testemunha ouvio dezer ao dito calafe (sic) que a nao era tam velha e tam podre que estamdo demtro nella ouvera medo de estar nella por jugar toda e com todo que ha coregera o mylhor que podera e que ha caregara de canella a elle e a outras duas que daqui fforam pera Cochym, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse. Yoão d'Almeida pubrico tabeliam o escreveu.

Item. Symam Rodriguez, escudeyro do Bispo de Llamago, testemunha jurado aos samtos Avangelhos que lhe per o dito emqueredor ffoy dado em preseença do dito capytam e perguntado per o costume e coussas que lhe pertemçem disse nychell.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o primeiro artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que des que esta ffortalleza começou a fazer que ffoy quamdo Llopo Soarez aqui veo atee aguora ssempre aqui esteve nesta ylha sem mays numqua yr ffora desta fortalleza, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

[12a] Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o segumdo artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que no tempo que aqui esteve Dom Joham da Sylveira por capitam nom se receberam mays que huma soo vez as pareas que el-Rei de Çeilam paga a el-Rei nosso senhor, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o terceiro artigo e hapom-
tamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e declarado e
feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he
verdade que hao receber da dita canella ao pesso que era hahy presente
muytas vezes Amtonyo de Llemos feitor e que quando nom vynha por
estar mall sentido de peçonha que lhe deram, vynha alli estar hum
homem da feitoria por elle e que Francisco Paez e Gaspar d'Araujo
escrivães vynham ahy estar comtinoadamente ao pessar e receber da
dita canella e que muitas vezes vynha ahy estar Dom Yoão da Sylveira a
ver como se pessava e tomava a canella na mão e dizia esta he boo e
esta nam he booa e que por esta maneira se fazia e recebia a dita canella,
e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quarto artigo e apom-
tamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e declarado e
feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que he
verdade que quando a canella vynha [12b] se deitava em hum tereiro
e se escolhya toda e sse emxagava se vynha molhada e escolhyam a
booa pao e pao e tomavam-na e emgeitavam a roym aos negros que ha
traziam e que desta maneira o vyra elle testemunha muitas vezes fazer,
e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quymto artigo e apom-
tamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e declarado e
feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que
nunqua vyo nem ouvio dezer que ho capitam nem ofiçyaes tomasem
dous pessos de canella roym per hum bom mas amtes a escolhyam mui-
to boa como dito tem, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seisto artigo e hapom-
tamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e declarado e
feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que
nunqua vyo nem ouvio dezer que ho capitam nem hoffiçyaes toma-
sem peitas per receberem roym canella aos negros mas que amtes o dito
Dom Joham da Sylveira dava panos e betre aos negros que tinham
carego de a trazer por os comtemtar pera que lhe trouxesem a dita ca-
nella e que elle testemunha sabe ysto por ver dar ao dito capitam os panos
e os fanams pera o betre, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom dise.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seteno artigo e ffinall
apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara [13a] que lhe todo ffoy llido e
declarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle tes-
temunha que veo teer aqui aquelle anno huma nao del-Rey nosso senhor
que se chama Ssamta Cruz e que ouvio dezer que fazia muita aguoá e

que se hya ao fundo e que vyera de Malaqua e nom fora coregeda em Cochym e que ho capitam a mandara coreger per os calafatees e esteirar toda de esteiras por sse a dita canella nom molhar e que tambem fora aquelle anno hum navio e que tambem fazia aguoá muita e assy fora tambem huma nao malavar com alifantes e tambem levava canella alguma e que sse se a dita canella molhara nas ditas naos que elle testemunha o nam sabe, e do dito artigo e apontamento all nom disse. João d'Almeida tabeliam publico o escrevy.

Item. Antonio Diaz, homem d'armas, testemunha yurado aos samtos Avangelhos que lhe per o dito emqueredor ffoy dado em presença do dito capitam e perguntado per o costume e cousas que lhe pertencem disse nychell.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o primeiro artigo e apontamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, dise elle testemunha que des que aqui veo Llopo Soarez a fazer esta fortaleza que elle vyera com elle e que sempre estivera nella salvo tres meses que fora a Cochym despoys de Dom João da Sylveira ser partido avia hum mees e tornou lloguo pera a dita ffortalleza omde agora esta, e do dito artigo e apontamento all nom disse.

[13b] Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o segundo artigo e hapontamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que no tempo que aqui esteve Dom João da Sylveira por capitam que se nom ffez mays de huma soo paga das pareas que el-Rei de Çeilam paga a el-Rei noso senhor e que a outra segunda paga veo teer Llopo de Bryto e lhe ffoy feita e que ho dito Dom Joham da Sylveira nom fizera mays de huma soo como dito tem, e do dito artigo e apontamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o terceiro artigo e apontamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, dise elle testemunha que hao receber da dita canella estava as vezes Amtonyo de Llemos feitor hahy, e as vezes hum homem que elle punha por ssy e que assy as vezes estava ahy Ffrancisco Paez e Gaspar d'Araujo, escryvães da feitorya e que has vezes estavam ambos e que esta hera a maneira que se tinha no receber da dita canella, e do dito artigo e apontamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quarto artigo e apontamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado

e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, dise elle testemunha que muitas vezes ouvira dezer que emgeitavam muita canella roym aos negros e que elle testemunha [14a] a vyra tornar a levar aos negros da fortaleza pera ffora, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quymto artigo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que nunca vyra nem ouvira dezer que hos offiçyaes nem capitam tomasem dous pesos de canella roym per hum bom como no artigo ffaz memçam, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seisto artigo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llydo e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que nunca vyra nem ouvira dezer que ho capitam nem offiçyaes tomasem peitas aos negros por lhe tomarem roym canella como no artigo fez mençam, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom dise.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seteno artigo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, dise elle testemunha que he verdade que se sse a canella danou nas naos que elle testemunha o nam sabe porem que elle ouvio dezer que a nao Samta Cruz que aqui veo por a dita canella que era velha e ffazia muita agooa, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse. Yoão d'Almeida pubrico tabeliam o escrevy.

[14b] Este trelado de inquiryçam ffoy treladado do trelado que em meu poder esta per mandado de Llopo de Bryto capitam da dita ffortalleza em que mandou a mim Yoão d'Almeida tabeliam pubrico em / / que ho dese a Gaspar Afonso creligo de mi. ssa que da parte de Dom Joham da Sylveira lhe requereo pera se de-lhe ajudar se lhe neçessareo ffor o quall eu tabeliam todo treladei de verbo a verbo per ser mando e aqy meu pubrico synall fyz que tall he.

Address : Esta emquyryção se darra ao senhor Barrão e estas olas e cartas.

Apostil : Lançada
Inquiriçam que tirou Lopo de Bryto em Çeilão sobre as pareas e canela que nom vinha boa.
Inquyryçam sobre...
Nada ao caso
Pague çento cimquoemta reis.

Original

LETTER FROM THE FACTOR AND THE
CIVIL SERVANTS OF THE
CANNANORE FORTRESS TO D. JOÃO III,
KING OF PORTUGAL

[Cannanore], 15. I. 1527
TdT, CC I-35-76

[1a] Vimos a cartaa que Vossa Alteza nos espreven a estaa ffortaleza de Cananor em que nos mamda que meudaamemte lhe esprevamos e demos conta das mercadarias e dinheiro que recebemos pera o cabedall da casa que nos o Vedor da ffazemda mamda emtregar e os empreguos que ffezemos e o proveito que se nello fez e os preços per que se vemdem as mercadarias que della do Reino vem e asy os preços das que compramos e lla enviamos e asy os soldos e mamtimentos que se cadano pagam nesta ffeitoria e quaaes quer outras despesas que per seu serviço se fazem e que tenhamos espeçiall cuidado de cadano lho esprever.

O ffeitor Bastiam Rodriguez começou de servir em ffeveiro de mill e quinhentos e vimte seis e reçebeo a ffeitoria de Ffrancisco Diaaz sem nemhuum dinheiro nem mercadarias na casa sobmente huum pouquo de corall bastardo que hy estava muito bayxo emgeitado de mercadores mas amte lhe deixou pasante de trres mill cruzados de dividas, e o que, Senhor, reçebemos e o segimte.

Item. De cobre em pãees ix^{cl}Rj^{ta} quimtais meio que valem aqui a ^{iiij} ^{biiij} reis o quimtall ^{iiij} contos ^{bij}^{cl}^{ta} ix mill e ^{ij} reis o quall nos per vezes o Vedor da ffazemda mamdou emtregar.

Item. De chunbo, xxxj quimtais meio a ^j ^{biiij}^cx reis o quimtall ^{lb} / / / /

[1b] [Item]. Reçebemos de corall bastardo com o que achamos na casa xxbiiij quimtais que vall a xj mill ^{ij}^{cl}xxxbij reis o quimtall, ^{iiij}^cxbj mill xxxbj reis.

Item. Reçebemos de corall bramquo ^{iiij} quimtais ^j aroba xij arrates que vall ^c^oxx mill reis o quimtall, ^{iiij}^cj mill ^{ij}^{cl} reis.

Item. Reçebemos de corall toro xbij quimtais ^j aroba xxiiij arrateis que vall sesemta mill reis o quimtall huum conto Rb mill ^{bij}^c lxxxj reis.

Item. Reçebemos mais em dinheiro que nos o Vedor da ffazenda mamdou dar per vezes dous contos ^{bij}^{cl}xbij mill ^{iiij}^creis em que emtraa algũaas pouqua de ffazenda que vemdemos e de deffumtos.

estes preços fforam asemntados quyseraa o Vedor da fazenda emtemder niso e achou que se nom avante ja vaa nadaa em seu serviço porque asy como nos tomam o cobre asy nos dam a pimemtaa e gengivre e cairo e outras cousas que nom mudam a sustamçiaa do preço dos ffanões e ffica-nos a menos preço por elles serem de baixa ley.

E o gengivre nos custaa a iij^lxxx^b reis o quimtall e este porem as vezes vall mais e as vezes menos segundo as novidades da terra porque he cousa que se faz cadano, ho anno pasado o compramos a lxxx biiij fanões / / / /

[2b] / / / / bar e este anno asy ficou sem se mais mudar que he a respeito destes iij^lxxx^b reis quimtall e o Rey que nos lho daa comprraa a cemto seis ffanões em que perde dinheiro por o termos jaa asy asemntado e se nam mudar este anno preço.

Item. O dinheiro se gastou desta maneira, saber, deu por iiij ije^lb arcos de fferro pera pipas que mamdamos a Cochym pelas armadas a xxx reis o arco, c^o xxbij mill bje^l reis.

Item. Das casas da ffeitoriaa que o Vedor da fazenda deu d'empreitado ije^lxx mill reis, as quaaes se fazem de pedraa e call e sobradadas no propioo lugar omde a feytoriaa estavaa de pedraa e barro e terrea e jaa velha e mall reparada.

Item. Nas casas que mamdou ffazer pela polvora e salitere fforaa da ffortaleza que tambem deu d'empreitada cem mill reis.

Item. Nas casas da ffortalezaa ramadas feitoriaa e almazem e cor-doariaa que tambem deu d'empreitadaa pera se cobryrem d'ollaa, xxb mill reis.

Item. Que mamdou dar a Manoell da Sylvaa que Deus ajaa, capitão da ffustalha de Goa que aqui amdou este verão ate o matarem, lxij mill ije^lxxx reis pera pagar os remeiros da suaa armadaa.

Item. Em setee paraaoes e bargamtis que amdam d'armada e saaem destaa ffortaleza que tem feyto neste verão muita gerraa aos mouros de Calecud e tem mortos muitos delles e tomados muitos paraos e artelhariaa nos remeiros que nelles amdam gastamos em suas soldadas sobmente c^oRiiij mill ix^oreis.

O Governador D. Amrique que Deus ajaa, quando esteve sobre Calecud e mamdou de se fazer a ffortaleza, deu hum alvara a companhia que andavam nos bargamtis e paraos desta ffortaleza em que lhe daa todaa a fazenda que tomasem em navios de remos sobmente os cascos e artelhariaa fficase pera Vosa Alteza e depois confirmou o Governador Lopo Vaaz de Sampayo.

e em comprar madeira pera estas taes cousas e louçaa de barro pera ffazerem as aguadas, e em comprar refestos pera os governadores e capitães-mores quando por aqui pasam, e pera os ffrades d'Auservamçiaa que tambem por aqui pasam muitas vezes, e em lhe dar carlaas pera avitos e pera ouotros serviços dos mosteiros, e em comprar vinho pelas misas e pera o espiritall, e em çeraa pelas igrejas que se sempre gastaa nos offiços devinos, e em call e pedraa pera rememdarias e em pedreiros que sempre pouco ou muito tem que rememdar nesta ffortaleza que jaz todaa no chãao ou tall que nom a nella cousa que preste senam a torre da menajem, e asy em hũa cavaa que se começou ffazer com seu baluarte no meyo hum tiro de bestaa ffora dos muros pera que ficase demtro agoaa por quamto demtro na ffortaleza nam haa nemhũa agoaa, a quall cavaa tomaa de mar a maar e ho comprimento della e pouquo mais que a face do muro da fortaleza que tambem tomaa de maar a maar e fase estaa cavaa em tall lugar e de tall maneira que ficaa muito seguraa a ffortalezaa e muy defemsavell e com suaa agoaa demtro. Pareceo bem ao Viso-Rey que Deus ajaa, e asy a todollos governadores e outros capitais ffazer-se.

Item. Continoadaamente estam nesta ffortaleza duzentos omeens pera guarda e defensam della e porque tambem pasam por aquy huns vãao e outros vem e fazem demoraa e porque nom podem todos emvernar em Cochim nem em Goaa e sendo esta cavaa acabada e o muro sobrella feyto com seus cubelos e o baluarte do meyo, çemto e çimquoemta homens abastam pera <guar> da e deffemsam dellaa com outros Imdios cristãos / / / ficãao demtro que sam homeens pera pelejar [4a] e ajudar a deffemder pera os quaaes çemto e çimquoemta <homens> he neçesario cadano de doldos e ordenados hum conto bii / / / lx mill reis emtramdo hy capitãao, alcaide-mor, feitor e todos outros offiçiaaes e pera mamtimento da gente d'armaas por ano bij^cxx mill reis.

E os xxxj quintais de chunbo se gastaram em pelouros de falcões e berços que se dam as armadas e aos espingardeiros.

E o que nos fficaa na casaa he saber os ij^cxxj quintais j aroba de cobre que vall hum conto lxij mill reis.

E o corall nos ffiquaa aimdaa por vemder que vall todo em somaa hum conto bij^elxiiij mill reis que soma em todo ho que fficaa na casa em mercadorias do reyno dous contos bii^cxxb mill reis e gastaram-se neste ano seis contos b^cxxxj mill reis em que entra dous mill quintais de gemgivre e mill e duzentos de pimenta que temos paguo e por aqui poderaa Vossa Alteza saber o proveito que tem desta ffortaleza, olhando os preços por que se llaa compra a corall e cobre e os preços por que se

rey. Beijamos de Vossa reall Alteza (sic). De Cananor, a xb de janeiro de 1527.

Vimos huum alvara de Vosa Alteza que mamda que os capitâaes nom mamdem em suaa fazenda quem lhe iso lembrou nom desejaa pouquo seu serviço deveraa Vossa Alteza com elle mamdar pera os officiaaes huum seguro reall pera o poderem servir como devem, porque d'outra maneira ho nom podem ffazer sem suas vidas e omrras correrem muito risco.

///.. Sebastyam Rodriguez Maresym Duarte Barbosa
 /// tela.

Address : Pera el-Rey noso senhor
 Apostil : Da feitoria de Cananor
 Do feitor e ofeçaes de Cananor

Original

LETTER FROM POCA AMAME TO
D. JOÃO III, KING OF PORTUGAL

[Cannanore], 14. I. 1528
TdT, CC I-38-84

[1a] Senhor,

Em tempo del-Rei voso pai que santa groria aja, era seu servydor Mamale que mandou toda esta tera de Cananor e por morte de Mamale meu irmão, fyquey eu Poca Amame em lugar de regedor deste Cananor e de servydor de Vosa Allteza e asy ho he el-Rei de Cananor de cuyo vasalo eu, Senhor, sam e ysto por me ter muitas vezes dito e mandado que todas as cousas que comprirem o servyço de Vosa Allteza muito ymteiramente as faça e como o seu servyço compre. Estes dias que me Deus der de vyda espero nele nam ter outros servyços nem ser d'outrem vasalo senam de Vosa Allteza e dell-Rey noso senhor. E a vontade que tenho ao servyço de Vosa Allteza bem lho podera dyzer os seus feytor e ofyçiaes deste Cananor que vos servem co[m] cabos [1b] criados e asy vos dirão que ell-Rey de Calecut tem muitos paraos e faz muitos males a gente de Vosa Allteza e el-Rei de Cananor com todos nos outros seus vasalos sempre estamos prestes pera servyr Vosa Allteza como leaes servydores. E per vos termos esta vontade recebemos dos mouros de Calecut muitos danos em nosas fazendas ho que tudo avemos por bem empregado poys e por Vosa Allteza e - nos com hos vosos lasqarys e crriados espero em Deus que lhe faremos tantos danos como ate qy deles recebemos. Vosa Allteza tem quantos fidallgos e cavaleyros, eu são tamanho seu servidor que como qallquer deles me pode fazer merçe em se querer de mim servyr. Forra Vosa Allteza tanto omrado e de tanto credito com ha corte pera ho capytão que aqy for nesta fortaleza como se nam fez o vasalo que Vosa Allteza tivesse; porque como os crystãos e mouros souberem a onra que de Vosa Allteza recebo terrão em conta de quanto seu servydo são, posto que sabydo e manifesto seya [2a] porque bem

sabem todos que com a mercadaria que dela vem e qa nam vall tanto como os vosos feitorres as tem taxado, eu as tomo com meus parentes e amigos por Vosa Allteza nam receber perda. No mais senam fiquo rogando a Noso Senhor que lhe acreçente seus dias pera nos ter sempre em justiça como nos qa dyzer que fazes. Feyta em Cananor oje xiiij dias de janeiro de 528.

De Poqa Amame. (Autographic signature in Malayalam).

Address : el-Rei noso senhor

Apostil : De Poqa Amame
A 22 d'abrill me foy dada.

Original

LETTER FROM THE KŌLAṬHIRI TO MARTIM AFONSO DE SOUSA

[1545?]

TdT, São Lourenço, III-130

[1a] Apomtamentos del-Rey de Cananor pera ho Senhor Governador.

Ell-Rey de Cananor ffaço saber a Governador que amtiuguoa n:nte ell-Rey de Purtugall e nos somos muito gramdes amigos e asy hos governadores que de Purtugall e os veadores da ffazenda e os capitães desta ffortalleza sempre fforão nosos amigos, e ffizerão ho que comprya a nos e a jemte de noso reyno e nos tambem e hos nosos lhe ffizemos sempre a vomtade e asy daqui por diamte detriminamos de ho ffazer.

Item. Avera coremta e quatro anos que a este porto de Cananor vyerão ter hos Portugueses, os quaes fforão bem reçebydos e agasalhados per hum primçepe meu tio que amtam governava este reino e de amtão ate gora sempre os reis pasados com hos Portugueses estiverão em muita paz posto que naquelle tempo ouve amtre elles hũa quebra que loguo tornarão ha ffallar, e asy daqui por diamte temos posto na vomtade de per nenhũa cousa quebramos.

Item. Quoamdo hos Portugueses vyerão descobryr esta Imdia, chegarão primeiro a Callecú oomde pella jemte da terra com comçintimento dell-rey [1b] fforão emganados e mall tratados e asy ficarão de guera e ymdo-se pera Purtugall ho primçepe meu tio que asy digo hos mandou chamar e lhes deu tudo ho que pera seu caminho.

Item. Naquelle tempo neste porto de Cananor erra todo ho trato d'Ormuz homde vynha[m] todollos cavallos d'Ormuz e d'Arrabya de que hos reis de Cananor tinham muitos grandes direitos, asy dos cavallos como de todallas outras mercadorias que de lla traziam e de qua llevavão.

Item. Naquelle tempo os mercadores deste reino e navegantes tratavão em cavallos e alliffantes em que ffaziam grande proveito e ganhos, de que nos davão muitos direitos, ho quall nos tudo ffoy tirado pera se yr a Goa homde agora he de que reçebemos muita perda.

Item. Hos reis pasados derão de boa vomtade aos Portugueses esta ffortalleza homde se ffez ffeitoria que sempre a ella ell-Rei maomdou

muitas mercadorias riqas, saber, corall, cobre, estaho, chumbo, azougue, vermelham, <garniffe>, pedra ume, pamos (*sic*) de cores, marffim que tudo se aqui gastava de que hos reis avyam muitos dirreitos que tudo se desffez por se ffazer Goa em que muito perdemos ppello qu'all peço a Vossa Senhoria que mande a esta ffeytoria mercadorias do reino porque eu aja / / / os / [di] rreitos que soya aver.

Item. As ilhas de Maldiva remdiam per anos naquelle tempo de que avyamos proveito, eestamdo asy desta maneira maondou ell-Rei de Purtugall ffazer por esta Ymdia muitas ffortallezas em que tudo se espalho.

Item. Quoamdo ell-Rey maondou ffazer a çidade de Goa e ha ffortalleza de Calcu e a de Challe, deste reino de Cananor lhe ffoy dadó toda ajuda de trabalhadores e paos e Naires que os mais delles ffalleçerão muito poucos.

[2a] Item. Pellos governadores pasados por elles quererem vir por ell-Rei de Purtugall lho maondar elles deffemderão aos mercadores da nosa terra que não tratassem em espeçearias nem em drogas de maneira que não ffiqua agora aos nosos mercadores pera em que tratem senão quoquos e copra e yagra e cardamomo e sera e azeite que sam ffrutos da terra de que nos temos poucos dirreitos .

Item. Depois nos derão llicemça os governadores que mandassem hos mouros de nosa terra cadano ha Ormuz quatro naos pera que della trouxesem cavallos e quaesquer outras mercadorias, os quaes agora não temos ppello que peço a Vossa Senhoria que as mamde dar.

Item. No tempo que Callecú estava de guera com os Portugueses ell-Rey de Purtugall nos mandou ffazer merçe de todollos seguros de Pudepatão ate Batecalla se desem nesta ffortalleza de Cananor pera que nos ouvesemos allgum proveito e porque agora somos emfformados que em Batecalla os ffeitores dem seguros aos de Bamdor e de Barcallor et de Bacanor e de Carnate e asy Challe se dam allguns seguros de Pudepatão pello que lhe peço que ho deffemda, e mando que venham todos aqui tomar seus seguros asy como ell-Rei de Purtugall manda pera que aja d'iso allgum proveito, pois ¹ ho não tenho como os outros reis pasados por tornão a ver nesta terra mercadores como soya por serem ydos por não acharem proveito na terra nem em que tratar e porque tambem ha muito poucos seguros pera dar.

Item. Cartases que se agora dam não nos remdem mais de tres mill pardaos domde se remdiam vymte e symquo mill pardaos delles e das

¹ *Text.* : pois pois (*sic*).

mercadorias dos quaes tres mill pardaos se gastão perto de mill em cousas da ffortalleza e dadivas, [2b] aqui em Quananor se costumava em os tempos pasados dous ou tres mill quimtais de gemgivre cadano a troquo de cobre ppello preços que hos ffeitores asemtavão no gemgivre, e agora de tres anos pera qua ppello tomarem em Callecú se desacustumou muito ffazer-se aqui he ese pouquo que avya ho Governador ho mandava comprar por dinheiro e daqui por diamte todo ho que ouver na terra lhe mandarrey dar como damtes soya e asy a pimenta.

Item. Este verão pasado se derão nesta ffeitoria hos seguros acustumados aos zambuquos e pagueis e paraos da terrão que se começaram a dar em agosto e em desembro deste verão, e amdando asy por esta costa, começou de tomar hos seguros aos zambuquos e pageis e paraos que yam caregados pera Cambaia e pera outras partes Bellchior de Sousa que aqui amdava com hũa armada e hos ffez arribar a Cananor, dizemdo que não avya de navegar.

Item. Tendo ja hos zambuquos no porto de Cananor fflamdo com seus donos de allguns delles os despartava pera os deyxar navegar, levando-lhe hum tamto por cada hum segundo a vallia de mercadoria e ffazenda que cada hum llevaba e os outros fficarão aqui no porto perdendo sua vyagem e mercadorias.

Item. Estamdo asy veo a este porto hũa nao de Pocaralle, muio primçipall delle, que vynha do cabo de Comorim com dous alliffamtes grandes, ha quall vynha pera hos desembarqar em Mangallor e Bellchior de Sousa ha tomou perdida, dizemdo que a queria asy llevar a Goa e elles dixerão que não avyam lla de levar, que queri desembarcar hos alliffamtes em Cananor com quall lhe não quis comsintir e a teve tamto tempo neste porto reteuda com as outras ate que os alliffamtes queriam [3a] morer, e amtam ffoy neçesario a Pocaralle dar ffiamça de mill e quinhentos ppardao a Bellchior de Sousa se ho Governador ouvese por bem tomada a nao e com esta ffiamça lhos deixou desembarqar, a quall ffiamça ainda não he allevamtada, peço-lhe por merçe que ha mande allevamtar.

Item. Ho dito Bellchior de Sousa esteve sempre neste porto, tolhemdo que nenhũa cousa de Pocaralle nem de seus chegados e parentes navegasem, damdo em tudo muita apresam e trabalho.

Item. Dos outros navyos que fficarão no porto alguns delles tomou e os mandou vemder com suas mercadorias e allem d'iso pedio a Pocaralle hum mastro de hum seu zambuquo e hum parao que lhe o dito Pocaralle deu mais por fforça que por vomtade.

Item. E asy tambem não comsymtio que hos zambuqos desembarqassem suas mercadorias sendo ja mes de maio ate hos mouros lhe peitarem por lhes deyxar descaregar.

Item. Mais estando hos navyos de Pocaralle no porto, ho dito Bellchyor de Sousa maondou saltar em hum delles e maondou espanqar aos mouros que guardavão e lhe maondou tomar a ffazenda que lhe bem pareceo.

Item. Mais ho dito Bellchior de Sousa, hum dominguo ppella manham, amanheço a porta de Pocaralle e Pocaralle sayo ffora de casa a ffallar com elle e estando asy fallamdo tomou hũa llança e ho matou e asy a hum seu cunhado mouro muito homrado que com elle estava.

Item. Pocaralle erra mouro muito homrado e que tinha ffeyto muito serviço aos governadores e muito boas hobras aos Purtugueses e emprestemos que ainda oje lhe allguns devem de que tem seus conhecimentos.

[3b] Item. Quoando hos Rumes vyerão a Dio, hos mouros de toda esta terra detriminavão dese allavamtar e não tratarem nem comprarem nem venderem com hos Portugueses ate verem ho que se pasava com hos Rumes e Pocaralle com seu bom syso os tirou d'iso, trabalhando muito com elles, dizendo-lhes que ainda que vyesem todollos Rumes do mundo que elle sempre avya de ser amigo dos Portugeses e com elles comprar e vender e com seus seguros navegar e asy ho começou de ffazer porque todollos outros mouros ho segirão pello qall ouve este garlladam.

E os amtes pasados deste Pocaralle davam aos reis de Cananor as remdas das ylhas de Malldiva que elles amtam governavão.

Item. Per morte de Pocaralle se despovoou a çidade de Cananor que homês e molheres ffogiram todos pera a tera, levando suas ffazendas e deixando quair suas casas no ymverno de maneira que fficou a çidade erma.

Item. Ho[s] parentes de Pocaralle e jemte de sua geração e vallia e asy os Naires e Orioures² seus jamgadas, não sabemdo ho que lhes podia acomteçer, detriminarão de pellejar com hos Purtugueses e fforão com elles com espimgardas e armas pellejamdo per vezes em que morerão allguns mouros e a ffortalleza fforão morer allguns mouros e quatro Naires jamgadas de Pocaralle, como nesta terra esta em custume e muito outros ho quijerão ffazer, asy Ourioures como Naires, e eu os tirei d'iso com muito trabalho.

² Orioures = *Adiyōdi*, title held by certain Nāyar of Chirakkal.

Item. Pera estas cousas hos mouros mercadores em minha terra com seus navyos sam espalhados per outros reinos e portos pera lla ffazer suas mercadorias e proveitas, e eu peiquo derreitos que niso avya d'aver e asy dizem hos mercadores e navegantes de minha terra que receberiam perda de coremta mill pardaos.

[4a] Item. Os mercadores que soyam de navegar com seguros dell-Rei de Purtugall dizem que depois da quebra das cartases perderão muito que dito os Purtugueses e que daqui por diamte arreçamdo navegarão com hos ditos cartases.

Item. Estamdo asy desta maneira, chegou ho capitão Manoell de Vasquocomçellos que depois da sua vynda não ffizerão mais desordens os Purtugueses.

Item. Depois d'isto asosegado eu me vy com ho capitam e ffallamdo sobre ho caso fficamos comsertados. Depois outra vez eu ajumtei os mouros e demtro no llugar de Cananor nas casas de Pocaralle alli me vy com ho capitão e lhe emtregei os mouros e hos ffiz amigos, de que todos fficarão comtentes, e asy os sobrinhos de Pocaralle lhe emtregei pera que ffosem amigos e servidores dell-Rey de Purtugall e dos seus governadores e capitães.

Item. Depois de tudo asy comsertado e acabado, as jemtes que erão ffora da çidade asy hos homens como molheres e meninos todos se vyerão pela çidade a coreger e povoar suas casas, as quaes cousas ffiz comffiamdo em ell-Rey de Purtugall e nos seus governadores.

Item. Ppellas quaes cousas peço a Vossa Senhoria que a nome dell-Rei, rei de Purtugall, avemdo a elles respeito nos ffaça a nos e a noso reino e aos nosos vaçallos aquillo que lhe parecer que seja noso proveito e acreçemtamento de nosas ffazendas e remdas.

Item. Hos sobrinhos de Pocaralle tem suas ffazendas espalhadas per muitas partes e asy suas naos e pageis e allgũas embarcadas, ffaça-lhe Vossa Senhoria desembaracar e tornar llivremente.

Item. Hos capitães e jemte de Cananor soyam sempre de dar nestes reis pasados socoro e ajuda e ffavor comtra seus comtrarios com artellaria e pollvora e jemte, e daqui por diamte peço a Vossa Senhoria que asi mande que se ffaça.

[4b] Item. As cartases que daqui por diamte se derem mande Vossa Senhoria que sejam mui valliosos e que per nenhũa cousa se quebrem.

Item. Tudo ysto lhe peço que cuide bem e bem cuidado detrimine e mande aquillo que seja beem e proveito noso e de nosa terra e povo della porque asy nos temos detreminado e asemtdo de com hos gover-

nadores estarmos sempre muito amigos e lhes ffazer a vomtade, e ystu do ho que digo tomo a Deus por testemunha que asyado ser com muita verdade.

Autographic signature in Malayalam : Kōḷaṭhiri

Apostil : Carta del-Rey de Cananor.

Original

NEWS FROM INDIA (1525)

Anonymous account
TdT, Colecção São Vicente, XI.

[37a] E aos oyto dyas de Janeiro de myll e quynhemtos e vynta cymquo, começou a governar na Imdea Dom Amryque de Meneses por soseçam de Dom Vasquo da Guama Vyso-Rey, a quall nova de seu falecymto lhe foy dada em Guoa onde da mão do Vyso-Rey estava por quapitão da dita cidade, e no dyto dya acyma leyxou loguo por quapitão a Framçysquo de Ssaa.

E partyo de Guoa o Governador a xbj dyas do dito mes e levamdo comsyguo cymquo navyos, ssaber, hũa gallee em que elle hya e hũa galeota e ¹ tres bragamtys e semdo de fromte de Batyqualaa, achou trymta paraos malavares que hyam carregados de pimemta pera Dyo com os quaes pelejou e tomou quymze, e os outros por serem mais ao mar fugyrão, e deles derão a costa e lhe matou muita jemte, e lhe tomou muita artelherya e as outras armas e polvora.

E loguo o dya seguymte partyo, e semdo jumto com momte Delly topou seis paraos e hũa gumdra, todos caregados de mercadorya que levavam pera Dyo.

[37b] E chegou o Governador a Quananor a xxbj do dito mes homde achou preso o tyo de Baleacem, prymçypall armador dos paraos e que tynha muito mall feyto aos nosos e asy ao lomguo da costa da Hymdea como nas ylhas de Maldyvaa, o quall el-Rey de Quananor emtreguou ao Vyso-Rey, e no dya que Dom Amryque chegou o mandou loguo emforquar supetamente porque ouve por notyçya que ho dyto Rey lho avya de mandar pydyr, como loguo o mandou pydyr, porque em o levamdo a emforquar, chegou o governador del-Rey que ho vynha a pedyr da parte del-Rey, pela quall morte do dito mouro el-Rey fyquou muyto anojado porque esperava d'aver do dyto mouro muita ryqueza porque hera muito grande, ryquo a maravilha,

e por ésta caussaa se nam vyo emtam com el-Rey o Governador ; e todos os mouros foram muito anojados e alvoroçados e poserão o foguo ao seu lugar domde arderão muitas cassas, e os mouros se foram da terra com ssuas fazemdas ; emtam mandou el-Rey dyzer ao Governador que mandase aos seus Portugueses que nam fosse ao lugar por casso da jemte asy amdar alvoroçada, porque foy la huum portugues e foy loguo morto ; emtam, mandouu o Governador que nenhuum homem, de quall estado que fosse, que nam fosse a Quananor, e estamdo jaa o Governador pera se partyr pera Cochym quase agastado [38a] por lhe não vyr falar el-Rey e por el-Rey estar anojado dos mercados que se foram de ssua tera, e ssabya que estavam em Termapatão, lugar seu, pera passarem pera Qualequu omde estavam alevamtados comtra ssua obedyemçya, mandou roguar ao Governador que antes que se fosse que mandase alguma jemte a queymar e destruyr aquelles lugares, e o Governador mandou loguo Eytor da Syllveira com certas velas, e chegamdo ao dito Tramapatão homde estavam muitos mouros e outra jemte muita e os ditos mercadores, e depois dos nosos lhe tyrarem com artelherya, poserão foguo ao lugar que era muito gramde, e quasny todos os mercadores que hy tynhão ssuas fazemdas queymadas neste lugar antes destes mercadores vyrem a elle case todo era de pesquisadores e todas as redes e quassas foram queymadas, e tambem muitas manteigas e azeytes que hos mercadores trouxerão quamdo fugyram de Quananor, e mais foram aly queymadas certas naos gramdes malavares e as allmadyas dos pesquisadores e hũa galeota nova que aynda nam estava qualafetada a gyssa das nosas, e outra que estava mea feeta, e depois de terem todo ysto feyto, foram mais adyamte muito perto homde queymarão tres lugares de pescadores [38b] e asy fyzeram aquelles como ao primeiro, os quaees tambem eram do Reyno de Cananor e por os muitos tyros d'artelherya que os nosos tyraram, se diz que morerão alguns mouros, e depois de tudo ysto feyto a ssua vomtade se tornaram pera Cananor com muito comtetamento e el-Rey de Quananor foy muito alegre por o tall feyto, e o Governador dahy a dous dyasse partyo pera Cochym e levou comsyguo Dom Symão de Meneses pera ho fazer capitão-mor do mar, e leyxou em sseu lugar por quapytam de Quananor a Eytor da Sylveira.

LETTER FROM BĀBĀ 'ABDULLAH TO
D. MANUEL [1519]

TdT, Cartas orientais (Arabic 9)¹

ورق الاول

[1a]

[1] الحمد لله وحده.
[2] هذا الحديث من عند بابا عبدالله مسلمين من بندر الهرموز وهو
خادمكم [3] وصل من بندر الدييه الى بندر الكشي وعرفني باشدر هرموز
الى [4] كفتان المور السمي افونسو بكيرك وباشدر المذكور اخذ يدي وقد
[5] تسلم على يد كفتان المور على حين رجع من بندر الملاقه وباشدر
المذكور [6] قال لكفتان المور اسئل انت من بابا عبدالله المذكور عن
جميع الخبر [7] البندر الدييه المحل وعلى اطرافها وهو معرف بجميع
الحكايت وبعد يا [8] سيدي الملوك قد تواضع الى كفتان المور مها
كان عن خبر الديب [9] ومحصولها وبعد هذا قرّر لي كفتان المذكور انك
تكون في الواسط [10] بيني وبين سلطان الدييه تجعل معنا صلح
طرفين وانت تكون ترجان [11] بيني وبين السلطان وانت تكون الوزير
الخاصة وجرا بيننا شرط والقول [12] وكتبت له خط يدي عن جميع
الشرط الدييه وكذلك كتب لي كفتان المور [13] مسطور عن قوله لاجل
مني واخبرت الكفتان المور ان الناس الدييه [14] ناس ضعيف وبايحتاج
عليه حرب والخصومة وعليه مبلغ المال محصول [15] وهي فائدة على
سلطان البرتغال وقبل هذا نصف المحصول الدييه على يد [16] مام على
الملياري وهو في كل سنة قابض وانت يا كفتان تحكم على [17] مام على
المذكور في اخذ المحصول المذكور وتقول له هذا المحصول الدييه يكون
[18] من جهة السلطان البرتغال فبعد هذا الملوك قد خرج مع الكفتان

[1b]

[1] المور من بندر كشي الى بندر الجوه وقد وصلنا الى بندر الكنتور وطلب
[2] للمام على وهو حضر على مجلس الكفتان المور وقد قال الكفتان المذكور
[3] على مام على انت تقبض في كل سنة محصول الدييه بالقوة وان
[4] ما نخلي حتى تاخذ عن محصول الدييه وهي للبرتغال وقد قبل مام

¹ Professor Jean Aubin has translated this letter from Arabic into French, *Lettre de Bābā 'Abdullah à D. Manuel*, in *Mare Luso-indicum*, vol. 2 (1973), pp. 201-212.

على [5] انه لا يقرب في محصول الديبه وكتب خط يده واعطى للكفطان
المور [6] وكتب فيها شهود في مجلس المذكور وهو فوكر حسين مليباري
وخواجا [7] بغى والوزير الكنور ودون غرشى مع نواخيد البرتكال
[8] ان هذا محصول الديبه الذى كان نأخذ في كل سنة ان وهي
[9] يكون للبرتكال السلطان وبعد هذا كفطان المور سافر من كننور
[10] الى بندر الجوه والملوك معه وفي الجوه كان حرب على سبب
[11] حصن بنستري وقال الكفطان المور بعد اخذ البنستري نأتي [12] لك
غراب والعسكر ونصدر لك الى الديب وبعد يا سيدي [13] قد
قبض حصن بنستري وان الملوك قد قال للكفطان تعطي لنا [14] غراب
والعسكر حتى نسافر الى الديب فبعد هذا رد لي جواب [15] ان اوراق
وصل من عند سلطان البرتكال وامر لنا على خروج البندر [16] العدن
والغراب وعسكر جميع يكون معنا انشاء الله بعد ما نرجع [17] من
العدن نأتي لك غراب والعسكر وانت يا بابا عبد الله تروح الى

[2a] ورق الثانى

[1] عادلتان وتؤدي خطنا عليه وبعد ما نرجع من العدن وانت تخرج
[2] الى الديب وان الملوك قد طلع الى عادل خان وتواضع له واخبرت
عن [3] جميع الذى مها قال كفطان المور وبعد يا سيدي كفطان رجع من
العدن [4] وان الملوك نزل من عند عادل خان وقلت على كفطان تصدر
لي الى الديب [5] ورد لي جواب ان باشدز هرموز جاء من عند سلطان
البرتكال وجاب [6] الاوراق لاجل تبني الحصن في الهرموز وان مسافر الى
هرموز وبعد هذا [7] الملوك صدر الى الديب في سنوق مام على اعطاني
خط واوراق لاجل [8] سلطان الديبه والوزرا لاجل تقيضى المال
الذي كان تعطوا لام على [9] وهي يكون من جهة سلطان البرتكال
ولا تعطوا لام على وقال لي [10] كفطان المور تأخذ هذا الورقة وتسافر
الى الديبه وتعطي لكل احد اوراقهم [11] وانت تجلس في الديبه حتى

نرجع آن من الهرموز وان الملوك قد قبل [12] وسافر الى الديب
وبعدما وصل الى الديب مثل ما وصى كفتان المور [13] اعطيته اوراق
باسم كل احد وتأخرت حتى يرجع كفتان المذكور [14] وجاوا انقر مهالي
من جهت محصول الديب وطلبوا من السلطان محصول [15] وقال
السلطان قد جاءني اوراق كفتان المور وكتب فيه لا تعطوا [16] مال
المحصول لانفار مام على وان كان انتم تريدوا المال هاتوا خط يد
[17] كفتان المور وقالوا كفتان المور قد مات حين يرجع من الهرموز

[2b]

[1] وكفتان الثاني اسمه لويس سوراس ومام على قد تصالحوا وتراضوا
بينهم [2] وهذا المحصول الذي يتأخر عندكم اثنين سنة تعطوا فبعد
يا سيدي [3] انفار مام على قد قبضوا محصول النصف عن الديب وثاني
موسم دخل [4] دون جوان وهي كفتان سيلان في الديب وقال
للسلطان الديب [5] ترسل اثنين وزيرك الى بندر الكشي عند كفتان
المور حتى يتفق [6] بينكم وبين كفتان المور فبعد سلطان الديب ارسل
رجالين من [7] عنده وان الملوك معهم ووصلنا الى كشي وتلاقينا
كفتان المور [8] وقد تصالحنا في كل سنة الف وخمس مائة بهار قنبار
وهي جبل [9] والعنبر ايش ما يخرج من البحر نصف لاجل سلطان
الديب [10] ونصف لسلطان البرتغال وفي هذا الشرط قد توافقتوا
وتصالحوا وتراضوا [11] وكتبوا خط ايادم وكتب كفتان المور خط بقلم
الفرنجي واعطى في يد [12] انفار السلطان الديب فبعد هذا عرف الخبر
مام على ان انفار سلطان [13] دخلوا في كشي وتصالحوا وكتب مام
على الكفتان المور لاجل امر الديب [14] يعني ايش ما يعطي جاءت
الديب وهو اعطى ان من عندي وما لكم حاجة [15] تدخلوا في الديب

ان يعرف وجاعت الديه ورقم المقرر في كل سنة [16] ان نسلم فبعد هذا طلب الخط كفظان المذكور وقد قطع واختلف القول

[3 a] ورق الثالث

[1] وكتب الورقة للسلطان غيره واعطى على يد وزير الديه وان الملوك [2] ووزير قد سافروا من كشي الى الديه وتعلم يا سيدي من امر مام على [3] وهو قابض ديه نصف بلاده ويأخذ المحصول وهذا الوقت يكون حاصل [4] المذكور للسلطان كفظان يساعد ومن كل بدّ ندافع لمام على ويكون امر البلاد [5] نضيف من جميع اشغال ومحصول جميع يكون للسلطان البرتكال وبعد هذا [6] مام على يريد في قلبه الديه خراب لاجل هذا ان الديه خرج من تحت امره [7] واذا دفعتهم له يكون جميع الخلق عن الديه مستريح عن جميع شره [8] وتعلم يا سيدي هذا الحال السلطان الديه ووزرا والرعية راضين [9] على جنكم مش وتعطوا له قدر اربع غراب وهي تكون دائم الدهر في الديه [10] وهذه الجزيرات وهي على طريق التجار مريح والراكب كلها واصلين من [11] جميع البنادر خصوصا من الملاقه والمرطبان والبيكو والبنجاله والفتصور [12] ومن هند وهرموز وجميع الارض المليار لاجل التجارة وفيها محصول [13] بيع وشراء مريح واما فيها خصلة واحدة لانه من ناس كلهم ضعيف [14] واذا شوشتم شويه كلهم يحربوا^b ويتلف الديه جميع لاجل الظلم وان [15] الغريب فيها كثير اذا لقوا امان يكون محصول في البيع والشراء

[3 b]

[1] وان كان يلحقوا تشويش كلهم يحربوا^b والراكب من البندر جميع يتجر وتلف [2] الديب وتعلم يا سيدي الذي اجناس صنف يحصل منها اولها [3]

قنبار وهي جبل والثاني كوده ورسوم c فيها ثياب كثير والثالث [4] الصيد وهي تجارة من ديهه الى بندر الشاموطة يشترى الناس [5] على قدر شهن المراكب وان الديهه وهي بندر للناس الضعفا [6] اكثر واهل البلاد ضعيف واما بطريق التجارة وهي مفيد [7] للسلطان وفي الديهه اول ما يحتاج الا امان وقد احد لا يظلم [8] والمراكب الذى يدخل من جميع البندر يكون لهم امان حتى يجعلوا [9] بيع شراء وان الملوك اليوم يكون سبع سنين في خدمت السلطان [10] البرتكال وتركت بلادى واهلى وعيالى وقد استمعت على خدمتكم [11] تفضلوا على الملوك في المعاش ونفقة العيال وتكون تفضلوا لي [12] وتعينوا واي ما يحيى كفظان كتبوا اسمي فيها يعني بابا [13] عبدالله وهي خادما يكون نظركم على عبد لكم والسلام

شريتوم c

Glossary of Portuguese and Oriental Terms

| | |
|----------------|--|
| Arratel | 1/32 of an <i>arroba</i> |
| Arroba | 1/4 of a <i>quintal</i> |
| Bahar | Indian weight of variable size (equivalent to 3 or 4 Portuguese <i>quintais</i>) divided into 20 <i>faraçolas</i> |
| Berço | Small piece of Portuguese artillery |
| Cadjan | Palm leaves used for covering houses |
| Cartaz | Safe conduct |
| Casado | (Pg: married) A Portuguese man married to an Indian woman |
| Catur | Small Indian boat with pointed bows, oars and a single mast |
| Cerame | (Malayalam <i>stambi</i>). Verandah, open pavilion |
| Condestabre | Portuguese officer in command of artillerymen |
| Cristão-novo | Jew recently converted to Christianity |
| Degredado | Condemned by common law (usually to exile) |
| Espera | Piece of Portuguese artillery |
| Falcão | Small piece of Portuguese artillery |
| Faraçola | 1/20 of a <i>bahar</i> |
| Kaimal | Title given to certain Keralese noblemen |
| Marumakkatayam | Matrilinear system practised in Kerala |
| Nakhoda | Ship's captain or coxswain |
| Paguere | Cargo from Malabar or Gujarat |
| Parao | (Malayalam <i>paru malay: perahu</i>) Small galley with twenty to thirty rows of orarsmen |
| Provedor | Hospital administrator |
| Quadrilheiro | Portuguese officer responsible for distributing war booty |

| | |
|------------|---|
| Quintal | Ancient Portuguese weight (<i>peso velho</i> for weighing spices estimated at 51.40 kg) divided into 4 <i>arrobas</i> containing 32 <i>arrateis</i> each). |
| Regimento | General instructions and regulations |
| Seguro | Safe conduct |
| Sinabafo | (Hind, <i>Sanabaf</i>) White cotton fabric) |
| Sobrerolda | Sentry |
| Tharavad | Family link peculiar to the <i>marumakkatāyam</i> system, uniting all the descendants of a common ancestor |
| Vihāra | Buddhist sanctuary |

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| | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|
| CC | Copo cronológico. |
| CVR | Cartas dos Vice-Reis. |
| H | Hegira. |
| K | Kollam (era) |
| pg | portuguese |
| S | Śaka (era) |
| TdT | Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. |

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